FBIS DAILY REPORT

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BULGARIA TO HOST PACT POLITICAL COMMITTEE IN OCT

AU241319 Paris AFP in English 1310 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Excerpt] Sofia, Sept 24 (AFP) -- The Political Committee of the Warsaw Pact, the Eastern bloc military alliance's highest authority, will meet here in the second half of October, informed Bulgarian sources said today. The meeting should have taken place in Sofia on January 15 but was postponed indefinitely because of the bad health of President Konstantin Chernenko, who died two months later.

CEMA COMMISSION CONSIDERS SHARING OF LUBLIN COAL

LD241241 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Text] The CEMA Permanent Commission for the Coal Industry is meeting in Deva in Romania, chaired by Czeslaw Piotrowski, [Polish] minister of mining and energy. It is discussing, among other things, Poland's proposal regarding joint utilization of the hard coal deposits in the Lublin Coal Basin.

CEMA S&T COUNCIL VIEWS COMING EXECUTIVE SESSION

AU121406 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Sep 85 p 2

[CTK report in the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] A session of the Council for International Economic and Scientific and Technological Cooperation was held in Prague on 9 September. The session, chaired by CSSR Deputy Premier Rudolf Rolicek, discussed preparations for the forthcoming session of the CEMA Executive Committee and the draft of a skeleton agreement on scientific-technological cooperation in the water economy up to the year 1990. At the same time it dealt with the line to be taken by the Czechoslovak delegation at the forthcoming talks of the council of the CEMA member-states agencies in charge of the water economy, which will review possibilities of cooperation in protecting water resources against pollution.

TU CONFERENCE DELEGATES DISCUSS LABOR DISCIPLINE

LD241337 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Text] An international conference on questions of the trade unions' share in intensifying labor discipline opened in Prague today. It is attended by secretaries and departmental chiefs of trade union centers from Bulgaria, the CSSR, Hungary, the GDR, the PPR, Romania, the USSR, Cuba, and Mongolia. Jiri Neubert, secretary of the [CSSR] Central Council of Trade Unions, referred to the importance of the reinforcement of labor discipline as an important source of intensive development of the national economy. He stressed the broader concept of questions concerning labor discipline in connection with the improvement of management, application of scientific and technological progress, socialist principles governing remuneration, development of workers' welfare, and strengthening social security. During a debate representatives of trade union centers of the socialist countries singled out the need to strengthen social awareness of the fact that honest work full of initiative is the basis for raising living standards and guaranteeing social progress.

ROMANIAN DELEGATE ADDRESSES CSCE PLENARY SESSION

AU201910 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1840 GMT 20 Sep 85

[Text] Stockholm, AGERPRES 20/9/1985 -- Taking the floor during the plenary session of the Conference on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and on Disarmament in Europe, the Romanian chief delegate focused the attention of the participating states' delegations on Romania's position regarding the conference, with emphasis on the fact that his country declared firmly and would resolutely work for the successful unfolding of the Stockholm conference.

With this stand of principles as a basis, the Romanian representative said, in the current stage all the participating states should intensify their efforts toward passing to effective negotiations and the elaboration of an accord.

Along this line, the speaker showed, the Romanian delegation is and works for the intensification of dialogue among the 35 participating delegations with a view to crystallizing measures for the building-up of confidence and security in Europe. Next, the Romanian delegation referred to the proposals for measures apt to build up confidence and security on the European Continent, which Romania had advanced at the beginning of the Stockholm conference.

Emphasis was placed on the proposals for the reassertion and development of the states' fundamental obligation not to resort to the use and threat of force, the notification of military activities and the invitation of observers to some of them, the limitation of manoeuvres and other military activities, the setting up of an information, communication and consultation system among the participating states for the application of the future accord, for the prevention, elucidation and peaceful settlement of the states of tension, crisis and conflict in Europe and the building-up of confidence and security of all the participating states.

MINISTERS SIGN TRADE PROTOCOL WITH HUNGARY

AU241337 Tirana ATA in English 0750 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Text] Tirana, September 24 (ATA) -- The protocol on the exchange of goods and payments for 1986 between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the People's Republic of Hungary was signed in Tirana yesterday. For the Albanian side the protocol was signed by the vice minister of foreign trade Pajtim Ajazi and for the Hungarian side by the vice-minister of foreign trade Janos Ambrus.

Attending the signing ceremony were the members of the two delegations as well as the charge d'affaires of the Embassy of the PR of Hungary in Tirana, Istvan Kadar.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania will export to the People's Republic of Hungary tobacco, cigarettes, copper wire and cable, products of the light and foodstuff industry, refractory bricks, olivenites, fuels, etc, and will import aluminium, semi-finished products, lubricating oils, chemicals and medicaments, machinery and equipment, etc.

Over its stay in our country the delegation was received by the minister of foreign trade Shane Korbeci.

REPORTAGE ON PREFECT OF IOANNINA'S VISIT

AU241341 Tirana ATA in English 0740 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Text] Tirana, September 24 (ATA) -- At the invitation of the chairman of the Executive Committee of the People's Council of the District of Gjirokaster, Flamur Cani, the prefect of Ioannina, (Vasilia Brakacullas) made a visit to this district these days.

The prefect of Ioannina and the persons accompanying him were received by the chairman of the executive committee of the district people's council who had with them a warm and friendly talk and acquainted them with the economic-social development of this district. The Greek friends paid visits to the district's museum of the national liberation struggle, the pedagogical school, the higher-type agricultural cooperative of Sofratika where they visited the agricultural secondary school, the house of culture and made visits to the cooperativist Qanilies [Greek minority area].

On this occasion the friends from Ioannina also visited social, cultural and economic institutions in the districts of Tirana and Sarande. In Tirana they were also received by the chairman of the executive committee of the district people's council, Jashar Menzelxhiu. The prefect (Vasilis Brakacullas) and the persons accompanying him paid homages to and laid a wreath at the grave of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In honour of the prefect of Ioannina and the friends accompanying him the chairman of the Albanian Committee for Cultural and Friendly Relations With Foreign Countries, Jorgo Melica gave a dinner which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere. Attending the dinner was also the charge d'affaires a.i. of the Embassy of the Republic of Greece (Nikolaois Krisogjelos).

The Greek friends left our country yesterday.

FOOD AND POWER WASTE CUTS NEEDED IN CATERING

AU231037 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Sep 85 p 3

[Prof Khristo Khadzhinikolov article: "Are We So Rich? -- Sensible Food and Electric Power Savings in Public Catering."]

[Text] In Bulgaria the numbers of workers, schoolchildren and children of preschool age who use the public catering and cooked food services supplied by 21,000 kitchens, are continuously rising. It is evident from statistical data that during 1984 over 40 percent of the commodity fund of food products was spent in trade catering establishments and canteens. The actual proportion of food products used in the latter is over 50 percent.

Unfortunately, considerable amounts of foodstuffs are still not being sensibly utilized, but are discarded as waste during their cold processing. One example will suffice. In the GDR all root vegetables (potatoes, carrots, etc) are required to be stored at cooperative and state farms, and are delivered to the establishments in a peeled, clean condition using sulfate preserving agents and so on. By this method the farm uses the peelings and waste as fodder, while the catering establishments save on the labor needed for primary vegetable processing.

In Budapest the trade vegetable market [baza] has a primary processing department, attached to it. This enables the waste to be utilized as fodder, and the processing to be completely mechanized and even partially automated. In Sofia, in spite of the fact that a modern vegetable market has been built, no such processing department exists, resulting in a large part of the vegetable waste in the establishments being thrown into garbage bins. It has been proven in practice that the mechanization and automation of primary vegetable processing reduces the amount of waste by approximately two times. In Moscow, with a population equal to that of our whole country, several central factories for potatoe processing have been built. In Sofia, during March, the amounts of waste from peeling potatoes stored in the basements of individual establishments, reached figures of up to 40 percent, while with centralized storage and peeling the figures are around 15 percent.

All of the above examples demonstrate the need for the centralized storage and cold processing of vegetables to be made obligatory state policy, and not left to the discretion of administrative departments.

Checks carried out in trade catering establishments, and particularly in canteens attached to teaching establishments, nurseries, rest homes, etc., say that about 15 percent of the food purchased and served is discarded as waste. There are several main reasons for this. In a number of establishments the flavor of the food does not satisfy the higher requirements of the cafeteria clientele. It is therefore necessary to pay special attention to public recognition of and material incentives for the job of the cook. The situation at present can be characterized by two figures: Of the 1,050 member staff employed by the Sofia enterprise "School Canteens and Buffets," 372, or 35.4 percent, are pensioners, because there are no young workers. In a large number of public establishments no studies are made of consumer demand. Therefore, people are obliged to purchase food that does not satisfy their tastes and requirements and part of it is wasted. In school cafeterias the reason for considerable amounts of uneaten food is the requirement to take soup, a main course, and dessert. It is well known that the offering of this type of combined menu is connected to the rational nutrition program introduced by school doctors.

However, it should not be implemented by order, until broadbased educative work has been done, bearing in mind that nowadays in every family children are indulged and allowed to eat only what they like. In the dining rooms of rest homes and sanatoria, too, large amounts of valuable food products go to feed the pigs because they do not meet the wishes of the residents. Residents ought to be served with food according to preplaced orders, and at the end of the sitting, pay for the extra food consumed over and above the approved portion. A system like this could easily be organized, using electronic cash registers.

Many valuable food products are also wasted in the organizing of friendly gatherings, banquets and cocktail parties. Restaurant managements include a variety of foodstuffs in order to obtain a larger goods turnover. If a more modest menu is asked for, they reply that it cannot be done because they have to cover the cost of the orchestra and entertainment programs. To avoid wasting food, these expenses can be paid for additionally as cultural requirements.

The kitchens of public catering establishments are also large consumers of electric power, considering that the electrical equipment and apparatus installed in an establishment of average size have capacities of 300 - 400 kilowatts. This demonstrates the need for a switch to technical installations that use less electricity. Many examples can be given in support of this. Every one of our public kitchens has two or three electric boilers installed, while it is well known that the autoclave boiler consumes four times less electricity in boiling the same amount of foodstuffs. This shows the need for the manufacture of ordinary electric boilers to be banned by edict, and for boilers of this type, which are frequently in operation, to be gradually replaced by autoclave boilers, which are at present only in use in the culinary combines in Botevgrad and Sofia.

Our country manufactures only two or three types of cooking installations according to power capacity, causing small kitchens, which are too few in number, to be fitted with machines and apparatus of high capacity that consume a lot of electricity. This is extravagance which countries rich in power sources do not allow themselves. It is essential for the power capacity range of culinary equipment produced to be changed quickly.

Changes should also be made in certain cooking processes that are high consumers of electric power. In Bulgaria at present, semicooked french fries are only manufactured in Molyan Okrug. They are then deep-frozen and transported by refrigerated trucks throughout the country. In the USSR, semicooked french fries are produced in central departments in Moscow and every large town. The french fries are then cooled and stored in ordinary refrigerators. They have a shelf life of about 7 days. When required, the potatoes are taken out and completely fried for 2-3 minutes. They are equal in flavor and nutritive qualities to deep-frozen fries, which require 2-3 times more electric power for their manufacture.

The operation of the public catering system in Bulgaria must also be viewed as part of the nationwide struggle for the sensible utilization of food products and electric power.

'ANTICOMMUNIST' CATLI INTERROGATED AT ROME TRIAL

AU241145 Sofia BTA in English 1735 GMT 23 Sep 85

[Text] Rome, September 23 (BTA corr.) -- This morning the Rome Criminal Court trying the second case on the papal assassination attempt resumed its hearing with the interrogation of the witness Abdullah Catli.

In the absence of the assailant Mehmet Ali Agca who once again refused to appear before court, Catli confirmed that he is an anticommunist and that he has occupied leading posts in the extreme rightist organisation of the "Federation of the Turkish Idealists". In this connection he was asked to take a stand on the statements made by Agca and Ozbey that there existed cooperation among the terrorist groups in Turkey regardless of their belonging to the extreme left or to the extreme right. Catli said that this was impossible and that no such cooperation existed between groups of contrary beliefs.

In connection with Agca's and Ozbey's declarations that Kadem under the name of Akiff took part in the attempt on the life of the pope, that Kadem, in spite of his leftist beliefs, had cooperated with the "Grey Wolves" Agca and Celik, Catli said: "I cannot say whether Akiff and Kadem are one and the same person. I do not know Kadem personally but I know that he belongs to the extreme left and I exclude any possibility of cooperation whatsoever. It would have not been possible even if they were blood relations. It is not possible for people belonging to an extreme right organisation and people belonging to an extreme left organisation to unite in common activities."

With great perseverence presiding judge Santiapichi tried to make Catli explain why Agca had remained about a month in Bulgaria and had only then received forged passport. Catli said that the only reason was that Bulgaria was the nearest country to Turkey on the way to Western Europe and that thanks to the great influx of tourists it was possible to enter it in a tourist coach with less control on the part of the customs authorities. But in order to travel further on he had to be provided with a more reliable passport. This is why Agca waited for a new Turkish passport, more reliable than his false Indian passport to be prepared for him.

After the court concentrated on the sojourn of the four -- Agca, Celik, Catli and Sener before the attempt in Vienna. [punctuation as received] There they lived in Joringgasse and according to Catli there the Grey Wolves had a heated argument on their tactics and activities in Western Europe. Agca insisted on the immediate starting of armed attacks and assaults. He wanted an attempt against the Soviet Ambassador to Vienna to be organised as an expression of their anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. Catli said that Celik did not agree and "our ways parted". Then Agca and Sener left for Switzerland and took the gun which Catli had bought for them in fulfillment of Agca's request (It was with this gun that Agca shot at the pope). However, Catli said that he did not know for what purposes Agca was to use the gun.

Sener returned to Vienna from Switzerland after the shooting and reportedly said that he had seen Agca carry a map of Rome some time before the assassination attempt in "St. Peter" Square. Asked about the map Agca answered: "I will do something to the pope." Sener tried to talk him out of it but did not succeed and Agca left for Italy. Sener reportedly told Agca "drop it, millions of Christians will be looking at us with hate after this." To which Agca answered: "To win the hatred of two billion Christians is nothing."

Sener returned to Vienna after the assassination attempt being afraid of the Swiss Police because of his contacts with Agca." [quotation marks as received]

Catli stated that one day before the attempt on the pope's life, he was called on the phone by Agca who asked him "Can I come tomorrow or the day after in Vienna?" Catli gave his consent. On the next day he learned from television that Agca had carried out the assassination attempt against the pope. According to him Celik was at that time in his Vienna home and had thus taken no part in the shooting.

Catli said nothing about a Bulgarian complicity in the plot. He explained Agca's criminal activities as "ideologically motivated" and as an implementation of the latter's conviction that the "Grey Wolves" should carry out assassinations in Western Europe. He also spoke of Agca's obsession with fame. Catli denounced Agca's version about "the Bulgarians helping him by packing him out to Bulgaria in a transport international lorry" by telling about the assassin's intention to flee to Italy.

The interrogation of the witness Abdullah Catli continued in the afternoon. The afternoon hearing opened with his confrontation with the defendant Bagci during which it was made clear that the "Grey Wolves" Mahmut Inan and Eyup Erdal, which had assisted Agca in Switzerland had arrived in Vienna after the attempt and from there asked Bagci over the telephone for money.

Abdullah Catli resolutely refuted the evidence given by the witness Yalcin Ozbey before the court last week that Oral Celik and the other "Grey Wolves" had organized the kidnapping of Emmanuela Orlandi with the aim of exchanging her for Agca. According to him these were mere speculations. "Neither I nor my friends are interested in this," Catli said.

In connection with Agca's statements and versions presented during the investigation and here, before the court, Catli said that 90 per cent of his words were very far from the truth and that in only 10 per cent of these there was some truth.

Santiapichi: And what are these 10 per cent?

Catli: Only those connected with the fact that he has shot at the pope.

By way of confirmation that he himself was telling the truth, Catli pointed to the fact that he had come to Rome at his own free will and that he himself had confessed to having provided Agca with a false passport and to having bought the gun which the assailant had used in St. Peter's Square, in spite of the risk of being prosecuted in Turkey and in Austria could bear witness to the fact that Celik had not taken part in the attempt on the life of the pope and that on the day of the attempt he had been in Vienna. He said that Oral Celik greatly respected him and listened to his counsel and he could convince him to appear before the court in Rome if he is guaranteed freedom and that he will not be extradited to another country. Judge Santiapichi rejected such a possibility.

Catli said that Agca had been financed by "Turkish friends" working in Western Europe and by the "Federation of Turkish Idealists." As well as that in Switzerland he had taken part in robberies of department stores. As regards his own means of livelihood and that of Celik, Sener and the other Grey Wolves in Western Europe, Catli said that they received "aid from the federation." He rejected Agca's statements that from his home in Joringgasse in Vienna he had talked over the telephone with Bekir Celenk and with Bulgaria, Great Britain and the FRG as lies. The court ordered for Agca to be brought to Foro Italico tomorrow for a confrontation with Catli.

AGCA-CATLI CONFRONTATION OCCURS AT ROME TRIAL

AU241857 Sofia BTA in English 1735 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Text] Rome, September 24 (BTA spec. corr. Nencho Khranov and BTA corr. Khristo Petrov) -- Today the Rome court, which is trying the second case of the attempt on the pope's life, organized a confrontation between the neofascist assailant Mehment Ali Agca and witness Abdullah Catli in order to make clear the contradictions existing between the statements of the two men.

The assailant denied having done supermarket robberies in Switzerland in order to raise money. Asked about the source of the money sent by him to Vienna for the purchase of the pistol, Agca answered, after hesitating for a while, with a rerun of his old claim: "I got the money from Bekir Celenk in Bulgaria." He then gradually dropped his often repeated version of the purchase of four pistols from Austrian trader Otto Tintner, a version he had elaborated upon thoroughly during the preliminary investigation. Agca admitted that he had taken part in the buying of the guns and that Catli is probably right in saving that he (Catli) had bought them. The question of the guns' number was left open. Agca claimed that there were four pistols, while according to Catli, there were only two.

The assailant confirmed Catli's testimony about an argument between them at "Joringgasse" street on the "Grey Wolves'" tactics.

Agca again repeated his spectacular show by requesting meetings with prominent Italian statesmen and representatives of the secret services. They were needed to discuss the matter of Fatima's mystery, which according to him has motivated the assassination attempt.

Court President Santiapichi asked the defendant to come down to more earthly matters and the interrogation continued.

Agca confirmed Catli's statements, made yesterday about Agca phoning him in Vienna from Rome on May 12, 1981 but stated that he had been accompanied at the time by Celik and the other two accomplices. Their aim according to him, had been to announce their intention to return to "Joringgasse" in Vienna after the shooting.

Marini: So they were aware of the assassination?

Agca: Yes, and they had to receive us.

However, the logical question here is: if preparations had been under way for them to escape to Vienna, what was then left of the version of the "Bulgarian transport international lorry" which according to Agca's former statements was to take the assassins out of Italy. Actually the whole case against the Bulgarians has been constructed upon this accusation.

Sensing his mistake, the assailant changed his last statement and said: "The truck was our last resort."

His testimony an the people who were aware of the intended assassination was also very confused. According to him, the "Grey Wolves" in Vienna knew about it but were not aware of the details. The "St. Peter" Square accomplices were also not informed about all the details, including about the escape route with the Bulgarian truck. Catli had also known of the shooting but had not been told everything.

Prosecutor Marini wanted to make this point clear and turned to Catli: Is it true that you were aware about the assassination in general, about its being carried out on Bulgarian orders but were not aware of the details of the escape?"

Catli: "As I said, I knew nothing about this. Agca claims that I have been told and that Kadem and Omar Ay had been in Vienna. There were no such people with us. Kadem belongs to the left. How could he then come into my home?"

Sergey Antonov's lawyer Prof. Consonolo requested a more concrete answer to his question. "Agca claims that Catli had known about the assassination, that Agca and Celik had acted on Bulgarian orders. I would like Catli to answer clearly whether he did or did not know about this."

Catli: "All this has nothing to do with the truth. It is all a big lie. Let Agca find witness to prove his point."

Agca, obviously offended: "How was I then allowed into Bulgaria with a forged passport?" (correspondents note: This argument has been used a number of times by the supporters of the "Bulgarian connection" in the Italian press). I was wanted in Turkey and everywhere. How did the Bulgarians let me in with a forged passport? I stayed for two months in Bulgaria."

Catli: "I don't know anything about that, but you are not the only Turkish national to stay in Bulgaria. Many other people are also staying there. You need not necessarily be recognized Bulgaria." [sentence as received]

Agca: "I wasn't an ordinary person, I was a wanted man."

Catli: "You have been to Switzerland, Austria and Italy. You have been everywhere. Does this mean that you have worked for their secret services as well?

In support of the prosecutor's claim that Agca had been afraid of being poisoned even before the shooting, the assailant proudly said: Hitler took his meals in the same way. Every great genius is afraid for his life. I am a genius and not a degraded criminal."

On Santiapichi's question about certain witnesses' claims that Agca admires Hitler, the Turkish neofascist was proud to say: "I do not admire him but I value him correctly. He involved hundreds of millions of people in the war."

After this demonstration of the political credo of the neofascists, prosecutor Marini decided to play one of his trumps which could breath some life into the "Bulgarian connection" version if not in the courthouse, then at least in the press. Thus he asked Catli to tell the court about his talk on the phone with the deputy chairman of the Federation of Turkish Idealists Ali Battman after the assasination attempt. Marini had obviously learned about the phone call during his Paris private conversation with the Turk and throught that the time has come to draw the dividends.

Catli explained that in talking over the phone with Battman (some time after the assassination attempt, he could not remember exactly when), he was asked by Battman about Agca's motives for shooting the pope and whether the latter is connected with the Bulgarian secret services. Catli wanted to know why Battman viewed this possibilty and was told about a secret meeting of the foreign ministers of the "communist countries" in the Crimea. At that meeting, the Polish minister allegedly asked the question about the pope's role against the socialist countries and the Soviet minister's answer allegedly: "We will take care of this."

The conclusion drawn by the prosecutor and the presiding judge became obvious from the many questions they asked the witness. Their idea was quite simple: If Battman had spoken about this in 1982, i.e. before Agca's revelations, then the "Grey Wolves" had been aware of Agca's being hired by the Bulgarians. Whey ask such a question otherwise? This is then a circumstantial evidence in support of the version.

The question about the way in which Battman had learned this fact, received the following answer: "They (the Grey wolves) had contact with the West German intelligence services (Battman lives in the F.R.G.).

However, the prosecutor, who wanted to derive the maximum profit for his version, had forgotten something significant, which is well known to those who have read the revelations on "Super Sismi." As early as May 19, 1981, 6 days after the attempts on the pope's life, the Italian military intelligence Sismi prepared a report on this fabricated meeting, but the main parts in it were not played by the foreign ministers but by the defence ministers and the meeting did not take place in the Crimea but in Bucharest. The report elaborated the version of the "Bulgarian connection." It is clear that other similar services had been brought immediately into the working out of this fabrication and Battman had learned the allegations from them. Obviously a search was then started for perjurers from among the right-wing extremist Turkish immigrants in Europe, who were to support the Bulgarian theses of the "Super Sismi" subversive plot. Thus the phone call, upon which prosecutor Marini relied so much, actually confirmed the mechanism of the organization of the anti-Bulgarian plot.

In the beginning of the afternoon session, Prof. Consolo, defense lawyer of Sergey Antonov, made a declaration and a request before the court. Referring to Abdullah Catli's disclosure of his phone conversation with Ali Battman, who had learned from the West German secret services about an alleged "secret meeting of Warsaw Treaty ministers," Consolo drew the court's attention to a REPUBBLICA article of February 1, 1985, which was followed by other materials in the Italian press. These articles carry the revelations that the false claims of the meeting had been worked out by Francesco Pazienza's gang, by General Musumeci and by other Italian intelligence officers. The forged report was represented by "Super Sismi" a few days after the assassination attempt and was designed to turn the investigation on a false track leading to Bulgaria. Prosecutor Sica, who conducted the investigation against "Super Sismi" confiscated this document and included it in the protocols of his case. This is a further proof of the cheating done by the secret services, led by the "P-20 Mason Lodge.

Lawyer Consolo requested the inclusion in the court protocols of the REPUBBLICA issue on these revelations and of a copy of the confiscated forged document. The original document can be found among the papers of the recently completed trial against "Super Sismi".

The court will announce its decision on this legitimate demand on the part of the defence, whose aim is to denounce the prosecution's insinuations.

The court then went on with the interrogation of witness Abdullah Catli. The questions were asked by Prosecutor Marini. He asked whether the pistol, found in [as received] Aslan Samet, who was arrested in the Netherlands, is the second pistol, bought by the witness in Vienna. Catli stated that he excludes this possibility. He announced that the pistol had been transferred from Vienna to Switzerland after he went there with Celik. Oral Celik had allegedly told him that his intentions were to either sell the pistol or give it to someone as a present.

It was then disclosed that after the assassination attempt Celik and Catli moved to Switzerland in June 1981. Catli lived in Zurich and Celik and Sener in Olten in Exup Erdem's home. They stayed in Switzerland for two years and then moved on to France, first Celik and then Catli.

Catli's claim that he could convince Celik to appear before the court in Rome brought about serious arguments with the prosecutor. Prosecutor Marini stated that Catli's obvious contacts with the iding Celik means that he is supported by someone.

"You have accused Ozbey of having contacts with the security services; what contacts do you have?" the prosecutor asked. According to Prosecutor Marini, Catli maintains contacts with "someone who has sent him here to contradict Agca." Obviously Catli has fallen out of grace with the prosecutor despite their intimate conversations in Paris. This has happened because Catli did not support the "Bulgarian connection" as he was expected to and as some Italian papers predicted basing their forecasts on Marini's statements.

The witness was then asked a number of questions on the "Grey Wolves" network in Switzerland and about certain persons who are thought to have helped the terrorists.

Catli will be interrogated by the defence tomorrow.

MLADENOV MEETS GENSCHER, DIZDAREVIC AT UN

AU241247 Sofia BTA in English 1033 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Text] New York, September 24 (BTA) -- Bulgaria's Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov who is in New York in connection with the 40th jubilee session of the UN General Assembly met Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, vice-chancellor and minister of foreign affairs of the FRG.

The two ministers gave a positive assessment to the activities of the United Nations Organisation in the 40th year of its existence and expressed support for its efforts to consolidate peace and security in the world.

The two sides voiced their concern over the tense international situation. The Bulgarian minister noted that all world problems can be solved by means of negotiations, if these negotiations are approached constructively and if they consider the interests of the partner and strictly observe the principles of equality and equal security. He stressed that immediate measures should be taken for preventing the militarization of space. In spite of the differences in opinion on the causes that have led to the current tension in international relations, the two ministers agreed that it is necessary for all to direct their efforts towards stopping the arms race, towards disarmament and detente. They expressed the hope that the USSR-USA summit in November will contribute to the consolidation of the climate in the world.

Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher expressed satisfaction over the development of relations between Bulgaria and the FRG and stressed the wish of their governments to promote these relations further.

In New York Minister Petur Mladenov also met the Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia Mr Raif Dizdarevic.

The two ministers stressed the necessity for measures to be taken for easing the current tension in the world, for stopping the arms race and the nuclear arms race above all and for the non-admission of the militarization of space.

They expressed support for the struggle of the developing countries and of the non-aligned countries in particular, against colonialism and neo-colonialism, against racism and apartheid, for peace, security and cooperation, for the reorganisation of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. The ministers stressed the important role of the UN in the resolution of the global problems facing mankind.

The two ministers reviewed bilateral relations. They noted the achievements scored in various fields of cooperation as well as the existing possibilities for its broadening. Minister Petur Mladenov stressed Bulgaria's readiness to further promote her goodneighbourly relations with Yugoslavia and the mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries, regardless of the existing problems, in the interest of the peoples of the two countries and of peace and security in the Balkans.

Minister Petur Mladenov met Mr. Enrique Iglesias, minister of foreign affairs of Uruguan.

The two ministers stressed that there exist good preconditions for activating mutually advantageous cooperation.

They expressed serious concern over the tension in international relations and declared themselves for the taking of decisive measures for stopping the arms race, especially in the nuclear field, pointed to the threat posed by the militarization of space and called for creating the necessary conditions for consolidating the international cooperation. They stressed the positive role of the Contadora Group in the efforts for reaching a peaceful solution to the conflict in Central America.

TODOROV, DELEGATION MEET LAWMAKERS IN BONN

AU241903 Sofia BTA in English 1731 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Text] Bonn, September 24 (BTA corr) -- A delegation of the National Assembly headed by its chairman, Mr. Stanko Todorov, arrived here at the invitation of the West German Bundestag.

The Bulgarian parliamentarians were welcomed at Cologne/Bonn airport by Mr. Filip Jenninger, president of the Bundestag.

This morning the Bulgarian parliamentary delegation had a meeting with Mr. Dieter-Julius Kronenberg, vice president of the Bundestag, who is also deputy chairman of the parliamentary group of the Free Democratic Party. During their talks, the two sides expressed their satisfaction with the stable development of the bilateral relations and emphasised upon the role of the two parliaments in their futher improvement. Mr. Stanko Todorov dwelled upon some of the main tasks standing before the socio-economic development of Bulgaria and expressed the view that there is a great and as yet unused potential for the broadening of the bilateral techno-scientific cooperation and cultural exchange.

Recollecting his recent visit to Bulgaria, Mr Dieter-Julius Kronenberg underlined that Bulgaria's stable economic development activates the bilateral relations in all spheres.

Later in the day, the chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission and of the Interparliamentary Council of the Bundestag, Mr. Hans Stercken, hosted a lunch in honor of the Bulgarian parliamentary delegation.

U.S. SENDING 'NEGATIVE SIGNALS' AT UN MEETING

LD241009 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0500 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Editor Jozef Knizat report]

[Text] The first hours of the general debate at the 40th session of the UN General Assembly in New York have already shown that the United States is not seeking ways towards a dialogue, but that, on the contrary, it is seeking areas of friction that complicate Soviet-American relations even more. George Shultz, the U.S. secretary of state, in his speech yesterday defended vigorously the program for militarizing space. However, he did not say a single word about the key Soviet proposals aimed at averting this extremely dangerous trend in international relations. Shultz said that the United States allegedly has an interest in the productive nature of the planned meeting between Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. The negative American signals that are coming out of the New York seat of the United Nations have, however, confirmed once again that the United States has no real interest in the creative atmosphere of this meeting. The USSR must take account of this fact; nonetheless, it is continuously seeking opportunities and ways leading to a dialogue. This is confirmed by the Soviet capital. Our Moscow Correspondent, Stefan Babiak, has telephoned the following details to us:

[Begin Babiak recording] The congressmen, headed by Edward Markey, are conducting a dialogue primarily on Soviet-American relations and on what can be done to improve them, especially now, when the summit meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan is being prepared. Parliamentary contacts serve for seeking ways to enhance understanding, and this is also why they have been markedly increased during the past few months. This is already the second group of U.S. congressmen who have visited Moscow in September. Discussions in the Supreme Soviet and talks with leading Soviet political and public figures have provided them with an opportunity to convince themselves thoroughly of the fact that the USSR has a genuine and sincere interest in normalizing relations with the United States. Its businesslike and constructive proposals and unilateral initiatives bear testimony to the fact that Moscow came halfway a long time ago, while Washington is rejecting a reasonable and constructive resolution of the key international problems, which is a decisive prerequisite for improved relations between the two countries. It is in such a spirit that the speech by George Shultz at the United Nations General Assembly yesterday is being assessed here in Moscow. [end recording]

PAPER ON SOVIET THEFT OF U.S. TECHNOLOGY DECRIED

AU231045 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Sep 85 p 7

[CTK Washington dispatch: "Another American Slander; the Pentagon Accuses the USSR of Making Use of U.S. Technology To Strengthen Its Military Power" -- uppercase passages published in boldface]

[Text] CASPAR WEINBERGER, U.S. SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, GAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON ON THE "STUDY" WORKED OUT BY THE PENTAGON, WHICH ACCUSES THE USSR OF MAKING USE OF AMERICAN TECHNOLOGY TO STRENGTHEN ITS MILITARY POWER.

TASS states in this connection that, after perusing this "document," it becomes clear that its authors ARE PURSUING ONLY ONE AIM -- NAMELY, TO UNDERMINE THE EXISTING PRACTICE OF THE ENTIRE RANGE OF SOVIET-AMERICAN ECONOMIC RELATIONS with the help of conjectures, rumors, and the distortion of facts.

The organizers of the press conference strove not only to blacken the USSR, but also to intimidate those representatives of U.S. scientific and commerical circles who had dared speak in favor of developing mutually advantageous cooperation in research and development between the two countries. The authors of this slander go so far as to acuse the USSR of allegedly receiving secret reports from American research centers and universities.

Undoubtedly, the U.S. Government is disturbed by the growing opposition in the scientific world to Washington's dangerous plans, above all its plans for militarizing space. In fact, more than 1,000 scientists from 39 American universities have already announced that they disagree with participation in the "star wars" program. THE WHITE HOUSE, WHICH HAS PLACED SCIENCE AT THE SERVICE OF THE MILITARISTS, IS PREPARED TO CALL THE ADVOCATES OF THE EXPANSION OF SOVIET-AMERICAN CONTACTS IN RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT FOR THE BENEFIT OF PEACE AND PROGRESS PRACTICALLY "MOSCOW'S AGENTS."

It must be said that the authors of fabrications about the alleged Soviet hunger for American technology are trying to ignore the fact that, in the case of the USSR, they are dealing with a country that is itself a great power in research and development.

Already with their very first question the journalists at the press conference were interested in being told WHY THE "STUDY" WAS PUBLISHED ON THE EVE OF THE REPOPENING OF THE GENEVA TALKS AND AT A TIME WHEN THE SUMMIT SOVIET-AMERICAN MEETING IS BEING PREPARED. RICHARD PERLE, DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, GAVE NO SENSIBLE REPLY TO THIS QUESTION and began to speak unintelligibly about something else.

HOFFMANN RECEIVES SOVIET TU DELEGATION

LD242023 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Text] Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, today received a delegation of the USSR's All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions led by Vladimir Bogatikov, its secretary. In the course of a friendly conversation they informed each other about the activity of both trade union organizations, above all about the development of cooperation in exchange of recreational and holiday facilities. They also examined topical issues of the international trade union movement.

ASSEMBLY COMMITTEES VIEW PLAN, BUDGET FULFILLMENT

LD241437 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Text] The 38th joint session of the planning and budget committees of both Federal Assembly chambers continued in Prague today.

The session discussed fulfillment of the state plan and budget in the current year and the progress of work on preparation of the Eighth 5-Year Plan for development of the national economy. It noted that the CSSR is successfully achieving the planned economic growth rate but that fixed production assets are being insufficiently employed, the set volume of profits is not being achieved, and the reduction of material costs is progressing slowly.

Deputies referred to some shortcomings in scientific and technological development and to a decline in innovative activity in some sectors. They stressed that it is also necessary to enhance the functions and effectiveness of financial-economic instruments, especially in investment and resources to be used in the production process.

REPORTAGE ON VISIT OF TUNISIAN PRIME MINISTER

Strougal Toast

AU190836 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Sep 85 p 2

["From the speech by Lubomir Strougal," CSSR premier, at the dinner given by him in honor of Mohamed Mzali, Tunisian prime minister, in Prague on 16 September]

[Text] On 16 September at the Cernin Palace in Prague, CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal gave a dinner in honor of Mohamed Mzali, prime minister of the Republic of Tunisia. It was also attended by CSSR deputy premier Svatopluk Potac and Rudolf Rohlicek: by CSSR government ministers; by other representatives of our political and public life; and by members of the Tunisian prime minister's entourage. Vaclav Jizdny and Noureddine Mejdoub, ambassadors of the two countries, were also present.

In the course of the dinner, Lubomir Strougal and Mohamed Mzali delivered speeches. The dinner took place in a friendly atomosphere.

From Lubomir Strougal's Speech at the Festive Dinner

It is both an honor and a pleasure for me to welcome you in Prague, which is now taking on the colors of the approaching autumn. At the same time I would like you to accept the cordial greetings of Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, and of the federal government. I want you to believe that we will strive with all our might to provide the same care for you as that you provided us 3 years ago in Tunis.

You have come to the CSSR -- the very first time at such a high political level -- where already at school our peoples learn about and appreciate your country's feats -- feats of a country famous for its ancient history and beauties of nature, and particularly for its diligent and peace-loving people.

It is symbolic that the feelings of friendship we have established have sprung from the same sources of longing for freedom and social progress; they have been cemented by proof of heroism in the battles for independence and permeated by the spirit of resistance against violence which was foisted on us by fascism and on you by colonialism. That is why we like to recall the apt words of your most famous poet, Abu al-Kassim Shabbi; they speak plainly to our own hearts, too:

When once the people want Life,
Fate will just have to brighten,
Fetters will just have to break apart.

Peoples who have suffered in the same way and who have strived in the same way to assert their inalienable rights, and who moreover have been capable of successfully defending their place in the world community -- these peoples also have identical longings. Above all, they reject war and want peace, remembering in the case of the CSSR the destroyed Czech Lidice and in the case of Tunisia Sakiyyet Sidi Youssef.

That is why we are unconditional advocates of peaceful coexistence and detente in international relations. That is why we meet in the international area with the same, or close, antiwar initiatives. That is why we understand each other in our relations, which we can already justly call friendly.

We have come together in the middle of Europe at a serious time. Whereas the tears of those who remember World War II, which swallowed the lives of 50 million inhabitants of our Earth, have not yet dried, one is again speaking of a global confrontation, of a conflict that threatens to destroy our civilization.

The specter of feverish armament, above all nuclear armament, is stalking around us; the armament of space is being planned; weapons are even being tested that totally change the nature of war as we know it. If we previously used to say that peace is indivisible, then today it literally means that a future war will know no borders. That is why the strategists of the United States and NATO are foolish in wanting to turn their feverish dreams of world power into fact, regardless of the wishes, traditions, and spiritual horizon of most of the inhabitants of our blue planet.

In this difficult hour of world civilization, the CSSR is adopting the only possible position. Together with our allies, we are offering an honorable way out of the situation, and proposing an effective disarmament that can be verified, on the principles of equal security and renewal of the spirit of cooperation that we knew in the seventies. In this respect we have submitted innumerable proposals and initiatives. We believe that the recent Soviet initiatives are particularly topical: the moratorium on nuclear explosions and the project for peaceful cooperation in the use of space. I would like to believe that in the end the good word will not fall on deaf ears, that progress -- and perhaps the agreements we so much want -- will be achieved at the UN session that is just beginning, and later in Geneva, during the meeting of the leading representatives of the USSR and United States.

I would like to assure you that our country, which poets call the heart of Europe, does not have its eyes fixed on the fate of one single continent. True, we are longing to revive the spirit of Helsinki, to successfully conclude all the conferences that expand the horizons of the Final Act adopted 10 years ago by 35 signatories. But the fate of countries on other continents affects us in the same painful way. We resolutely support the effort to remove the hotbeds of tension once and for all, regardless of whether they are in Africa, Asia, or Latin America. Once again I want to declare that resolution of the MIddle East crisis holds a prominent place in our foreign activity. We want to see the right of the Arab people of Palestine to set up their own state asserted. True, this right will not be realized without unity among the Arab states, without a conference on the Middle East as proposed by the USSR.

Our government will always stand at the side of the oppressed and push for progress and social justice. That is why we have been disturbed by reports from southern Africa, by the violence used by the local racist regime against the Black population. That is why we protest against all manifestations of colonialism, racism, and apartheid. That is why we endorse the just demands for creation of the New Economic Order and right of peoples to self-determination and to comprehensive development according to their own ideas.

Our countries, too, are contributing to the stormy world dialogue. For 30 years we have been cooperating on the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. We have been successful in our work particularly during the past few years. We have increasingly come to know each other, also on a high state level. Our relations have become comprehensive, deep, and altogether beneficial. One can speak of friendship, which is based on a mutual closeness and respect. All this would not have been possible without your own personal contribution, Mr. Prime Minister, without the care devoted to the development of Czechoslovak-Tunisian friendship by Habib Bourguba, president of the Republic of Tunisia.

I want to assure you that we in the CSSR devote the same attention to relations with Tunisia.

Perhaps you will permit me one other remark which, I hope, will not sound discordant. There is one sphere of cooperation where we are not as successful. I have in mind economic mutuality; here we have remained stationary halfway along the road. The hopeful projects in which we wanted to participate have been postponed. Moreover, one has not succeeded in increasing imports to the CSSR, although we recognize that trade is a two-way street. True, there are new suggestions, even suggestions for industrial cooperation; but they are still in the stage of negotiations. I think that, in view of the known political will on both sides, attention must be concentrated exactly on these problems. Economic contacts are the basis of state collaboration. Their upsurge, dynamics, and particularly their long-term prospects should be prominent in our attention. Finally, we express the deep conviction that our deliberations will make a significant contribution to the strengthening of friendly relations between our countries and peoples.

Mzali Toast Reported

LD162104 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 16 Sep 85

[Report on toast by Tunisian Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali at dinner hosted by CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal in Prague on 16 September]

[Excerpt] Mohamed Mzali expressed thanks for the cordial reception given him in the CSSR and stressed that his visit is a new and significant step on the path of the constant strengthening of friendly cooperation between Tunisia and the CSSR. He praised the modern structures of Czechoslovak industry, its traditional agricultural wealth, and the development of arts and culture. He recalled the history of the Tunisian peoples and described their present successes. He said Tunisia and the CSSR cooperate in mutual understanding and respect. He praised the high professional and moral standards of Czechoslovak doctors, teachers, experts, and artists who work in Tunisia.

Mohamed Mzali went on to say that, as well as expanding bilateral trade, we can begin joint economic projects -- that is, to jointly produce and deliver products to the market that would raise cooperation to a qualitatively new level. He stressed that there are no differences between the two countries on the questions of preserving peace in the world and strengthening relaxation. In conclusion, Tunisian Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali said that the Palestinian problems cannot be solved without evacuation of the occupied territories and implementation of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. He also stressed that the tragic deterioration of the situation in southern Africa and in Namibia confirms the urgency to put an end both to the apartheid regime and to the colonial presence.

Joint Communique

AU281810 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 18 Sep 85 p 2

[Text of the "Joint CSSR-Tunisian Communique" on the visit of Mohamed Mzali, prime minister of Tunisia, to the CSSR on 16-17 September]

[Text] Mohamed Mzali, prime minister of the Republic of Tunisia, on an official visit at the invitation of Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier, stayed 16-17 September 1985 in the CSSR.

In the course of the visit, Mohammed Mzali, prime minister of Tunisia, was received by CSSR President Gustav Husak, to whom he conveyed cordial greetings from Habib Bourguiba, president of the Republic of Tunisia. The CSSR president decorated the Tunisian guest for his merits in developing CSSR-Tunisian relations with the Czechoslovak Order of the White Lion, First Class.

During the visit, Mohamed Mzali laid a wreath at the Bomb of the Unknown Soldier; acquainted himself with the cultural and historic monuments in Prague; and visited the Jesenice unified farm cooperative.

In the course of the talks, which were held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere, Mohamed Mzali, prime minister of the Republic of Tunisia, and Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier, expressed high appreciation for the positive development of bilateral relations, developed on the basis of principles of mutual respect, sovereignty, independence, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual advantages.

Mohamed Mzali and Lubomir Strougal discussed various issues that concern the development of bilateral relations and reaffirmed their will to increasingly deepen them in all spheres of common interest.

Stating that Tunisian-Czechoslovak cooperation is successfully developing in culture, education, medical care, sports, science, and technology, the two sides agreed on the strong need to continue this fruitful cooperation and to do everything in the coming period to expand it into other spheres.

In this connection, Mohamed Mzali expressed appreciation of the activity of the CSSR staff dispatched to Tunisia, and of their professional qualities and technical standards.

The two government representatives affirmed their will to provide a new impulse for mutural economic and trade relations by increasing the volume of goods exchanged between the two countries. A program outline was adopted, aimed at ensuring the permanence of this exchange and its balance between the two countries.

In the sphere of industrial cooperation, the two government heads defined the sectors, such as engineering, that make the transfer of technology and the common commericialization of products possible.

In cultural cooperation they expressed pleasure at the realization of projects contained in the 1984-86 execution program.

For the purpose of developing relations in this area, the CSSR side expressed its willingness to participate in building and equipping the Museum of 9 April and in delivering cultural material for houses of culture and libraries. For this purpose a protocol was signed between the two sides.

The two sides exchanged views on the current situation in the world and emphasized with gratification the broad concurrence of their standpoints on most issues under discussion.

They expressed serious concern about the lasting deterioration of the situation in the world caused by unbridled feverish armament -- above all nuclear armament -- which represents a serious threat to world peace and threatens mankind's survival.

They stressed the inevitable need to join every effort of all peace forces for the purpose of halting feverish armament, above all in the nuclear sphere, and of preserving and consolidating the process of detente and security in the world.

They are of the opinion that the success of current Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva will substantially contribute to alleviating tension in international relations, and they welcome the approaching summit meeting between the USSR and United States.

The two sides stressed the importance of the CSCE Final Act for maintaining peace, security, and cooperation in Europe and in the world, and the need to fulfill all its stipulations.

They are of the opinion that the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe is an important contribution to strengthening confidence, security, and cooperation in Europe, in the Mediterranean, and also elsewhere in the world. On this occasion the Tunisian side expressed appreciation of the CSSR'S active peace policy, aimed at maintaining and strengthening peace not only in Europe but throughout the world. Both sides believe that it is imperative to exert energetic effort -- both from the global and the regional viewpoint -- so as to achieve a total ban and abolition of chemical weapons.

Both sides support the effort exerted for transforming the Mediterranean into a zone of peace, security, and cooperation.

The two government heads devoted considerable attention to the problems of the Middle East and expressed deep concern for the escalating tension in that area, which represents a serious threat to peace and security both on a regional and a worldwide scale.

They resolutely condemned Isreal's aggressive and expansionist policy and reaffirmed their conviction that the establishment of a global, just, and lasting peace in the area of the Middle East unavoidably demands the unconditional withdrawal of Israel's troops from all occupied Arab countries without exception, and the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of their own state.

For this purpose they stressed that any and all attempts to settle the problem in the Middle East, which are to lead to the establishment of a just and lasting peace in that area, must be realized together with the PLO -- the only and legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. In this connection they reaffirmed their support for the Arab Fez plan on convening an international conference with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO.

Mohamed Mzali expressed high appreciation of Czechoslovakia's lasting support for the Palestinian people in the battle to realize their legitimate plans and longings.

The two government heads reaffirmed their devotion to the unity, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Lebanon and spoke in favor of immediately stopping any and all Israeli interference in internal Lebanese affairs.

The Czechoslovak side appraised the effort exerted by Tunisia to achieve the unification of Arab countries against Israeli aggressions and the peaceful solution of all conflicts between the Arab states.

The two sides expressed concern at the continuing fratricidal conflict between Iraq and Iran, and spoke in favor of immediately ending the fighting and of searching for a peaceful solution by way of political negotiations.

During the negotiations the two sides also devoted great attention to the situation on the African Continent, and in South Africa first.

There the minority and racist regime in Pretoria continues unpunished, to undertake unbridled reprisals against the Balck population, strives to destabilize neighboring countries, and undertakes evasive maneuvers in order to postpone the inevitable granting of independence to Namibia.

They expressed deep concern at the deterioration of the situation in that area; resolutely condemned the policy of apartheid practiced by the racist South African regime; and reaffirmed their full support for the peoples of Namibia and South Africa which, under South-West African People's Organization and African National Congress leadership, are conducting a heroic struggle for their liberation.

The two sides stressed the imperative need to strengthen and support the OAU so it can fully play its role in the service of peace, liberation, and progress on the African Continent.

The two sides stressed the inevitable need to reorganize international economic relation for the purpose of establishing a new international economic order, based on justice and the principles of equal rights and mutual advantage.

The two sides stressed the increasing importance of the Nonaligned Movement as a positive force in the battle for preserving peace, halting feverish armament, developing international cooperation, and supporting the peoples in the fight for their liberation.

In connection with the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations, the two sides expressed full devotion to the principles contained in the UN Charter and stressed the importance of the role played by this organization in resloving the problems emerging before mankind and in establishing and developing international cooperation that is beneficial for eveyone. They reaffirmed their resolve to support the UN activity that is aimed at strengthening peace and security in the world.

The government heads expressed high appreciation of both the course and results of the mutual talks, which have significantly contributed to consolidating friendship and cooperation between the two countries. Mohamed Mzali expressed gratitude for the cordial welcome and hospitality accorded him during his visit to the CSSR and invited the CSSR premier for an offical visit to the Republic of Tunisia. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

SLOVAK PILGRIMS EXPRESS AFFINITY WITH POPE

AU241855 Vienna Television Service in German 1730 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Text] Slovakia -- An impressive manifestation of faith took place in Sastin, a place of pilgrimage, during the traditional Feast of Mary's Seven Pains. Some 40,000 people -- some 80 percent of them youths -- chanted expressions of their affinity with the pope. The Catholics urged Bishop Julius Gabris, who is under heavy pressure from the authorities, to remain firm. As early as 7 July, during the great festivity in honor of Saint Methodius in Velehrad, some 100,000 people made a declaration ot their faith and irritated the communist rules.

REPORTAGE ON VISIT OF JAPANESE SOCIALISTS

Visit Dresden

LD242304 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1537 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Excerpts] Dresden, 24 Sep (ADN) -- The delegation of the Japanese Socialist Party [JSP] headed by Masashi Ishibashi, chairman of the JSP Central Executive Committee, visited Dresden on Tuesday. The guests were accompanied by Guenter Sieber, member of the SED Central Committee and director of the International Relations Department. On the 4th day of their visit, the guests' interest was directed toward the rich cultural traditions and their maintenance and cultivation in Dresden. On their arrival at the Bellevue Hotel, which was built jointly by GDR and Japanese construction firms, the guests were cordially welcomed by Hans Modrow, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the SED Bezirk Executive Committee.

Hans Modrow described the JSP delegation's visit as an important contribution to the efforts to safeguard peace. As chairman of the parliamentary GDR-Japan friendship group of the People's Chamber, he asked Masashi Ishibashi to convey cordial greetings to the chairmen of both houses of the Japanese parliament.

The JSP chairman expressed the delegation's pleasure and satisfaction at being able to visit Dresden. He paid tribute to the town's contribution to the development of good contacts between the two countries.

Joint Statement Issued

LD241821 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1548 GMT 24 Sep 85

["Text" of joint statement by the SED and JSP concerning the JSP delegation's visit to the GDR; issued in Berlin on 24 September]

[Text] Berlin, 24 Sep (ADN) -- A delegation of the JSP headed by Masashi Ishibashi, chairman of the JSP Central Executive Committee, visited the GDR at the invitation of the SED Central Committee. They were received by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, on 23 September 1985.

The highest representatives of the SED and JSP conducted talks in the spirit of the traditional friendly relations between the two parties. They discussed the international situation; the struggle for the protection of peace, for nuclear disarmament, and against the danger of a nuclear world war: the situation in Europe and Asia; and relations between the GDR and Japan and between the two parties. The meeting proceeded in a friendly and open atmosphere.

The SED and JSP agree that world peace is threatened today more than ever by the nuclear arms race, that the danger of a nuclear war is increasing, and that the existence of the whole of humanity is at stake.

The legacy of the many millions who died in World War II, not least of all the victims of atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, demands that all forces be deployed for the peaceful coexistence of the peoples and for a world without a nuclear threat. Peace is humanity's most valuable possession. There is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence. Both sides agree that nuclear disarmament and the prevention of a nuclear inferno, up to the comprehensive and complete removal of all nuclear weapons, represents the most pressing task of the present time.

The SED and JSP are of the firm conviction that a world inferno can be prevented through intensified efforts by all those to whom peace is dear.

They declare their resolute resistance against the militarization of space and therefore oppose the United States' so-called Strategic Defense Initiative [SDI] project, which serves the goal of preparing a star war and further increases the danger of a nuclear war. Both parties jointly are of the opinion that in the interests of the future of humanity, the militarization of space must not be permitted at any price. An international treaty against the militarization of space, which forbids the realization of plans such as the so-called SDI, should be concluded as quickly as possible.

Both parties welcome the Geneva negotiations between the USSR and United States on the whole complex of nuclear and space weapons and the planned summit meeting between the USSR and United States representatives at the highest level. They expect that tangible progress will be made here in the protection of peace, the reduction of international tension, and nuclear disarmament. The SED and JSP pay tribute in this connection to the moratorium on all nuclear weapons tests declared unilaterally by the USSR and the USSR's renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons.

Nuclear weapon-free zones in Europe, Asia, and other regions should be created as quickly as possible.

In discussing the situation in Europe, the SED and JSP representatives stressed the great importance of the CSCE process for peace, detente, and international cooperation. The SED feels that the inviolability of frontiers and respecting the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states in Europe within their present frontiers are a fundamental condition for peace. The JSP declares its understanding that this is an indispensible requirement for peace in Europe and values very highly the GDR's contribution to detente in Europe, to disarmament, and to the preservation of peace. It welcomes the political initiative by the SED and SPD for creating a chemical weapons-free zone in Europe. Regardless of differing political and ideological standpoints, such cooperation in the interests of peace, detent, and nuclear disarmament is today more necessary than ever.

The JSP is concerned about extension of the nuclear arms race to the Asia and Pacific region. Only the Japanese people have had to suffer from the dropping of nuclear bombs and therefore stand united for the removal of all nuclear weapons. The JSP consistently champions the three non-nuclear principles officially proclaimed by Japan and resolutely opposes attempts to transform Japan into a nuclear attack base against the USSR. It advocates the creation of a nuclear weapons-free zone in Asia and the withdrawal of all missiles from all regions of Asia and the Pacific.

The SED highly values the JSP's active struggle for peace, a nuclear weapons-free zone in Asia, and prevention of the danger of nuclear war.

The SED and JSP express their support for all peoples who are fighting for their national and social liberation, for self-determination and independence. They condemn most sharply the inhuman apartheid system in South Africa and demand freedom and democratic rights for the majority of the population of that country. The conflicts in Central America can be solved only through negotiations. All foreign interference in Nicaragua's internal affairs must be ended.

The SED and JSP stressed the growing role of the Nonaligned Movement in the solution of current international problems, especially in the consolidation of peace and establishment of the New International Economic Order.

They affirm their interest in peace and stability on the Korean peninsula.

They support the initiatives and efforts of the DPRK, which are directed toward peaceful reunification of the country without outside interference, and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea.

The JSP delegation visited Berlin, Dresden, and Potsdam. The delegation members expressed their great respect for the high economic growth rates attained and the high speed of the building of socialism in the GDR.

The SED and JSP pay tribute to the progress in relations between the GDR and Japan as a contribution to international detente and speak out in favor of their further expansion in the political, economic, scientific technological, and cultural spheres.

Both parties noted with satisfaction that their friendly relations have constantly deepened on a stable foundation. The exchange of findings and experience brings great gains for both sides. At the same time it makes an important contribution to the protection of world peace, to international detente, and to the struggle for nuclear disarmament. The SED and JSP affirm their common desire to further develop their friendly relations in the future, too.

The JSP delegation expressed its gratitude for the SED's invitation and the friendly reception by the GDR people. They conveyed an invitation for a high-ranking SED Central Committee delegation to visit Japan at a date to be agreed upon in 1986. The SED accepted the invitation with thanks and, for their part, invited a delegation of the JSP to attend the 11th SED Congress.

FRG VIOLATES AIRSPACE, INTERNATIONAL LAW

LD250859 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0823 GMT 25 Sep 85

[Text] Berlin, 25 Sep (ADN) -- On 23 September, two Sea King helicopters, tactical numbers 8955 and 8965, from the FRG Naval Air Force, illegally penetrated GDR airspace north of the island of Ruegen. The airspace violators made a provocative approach toward a costal defense ship acting on GDR sovereign territory. Such actions are a gross violation of the norms of international law and contradict the principles for developing relations between states.

NONPROLIFERATION TREATY REVIEW CONFERENCE VIEWED

DW231857 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 23 Sep 85

[Text] The 3d review conference on the nuclear nonproliferation treaty ended in Geneva last weekend. Joachim Sonnenberg reports from Geneva:

The states are agreed that the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear arms, effective since 1970, so far has essentially fulfilled its task, which consists of not allowing the number of states with nuclear arms to increase. The states are confinced that the treaty has played and must continue to play a stabilizing role in international relations. These are the basic statements from the final document of the Geneva conference. The mere fact that this document came about has been assessed positively here -- as a confirmation that this conference has been a success.

At the 2d review conference on the nonproliferation treaty in Geneva 5 years ago, no agreement was reached on such a final document. Therefore, a number of delegations also were skeptical about the outcome this time. The pessimists were wrong. The desire of the participating 88 signatory states of the treaty to bring about a document acceptable to all sides proved to be stronger.

It should be mentioned in this respect that approval of the final document can be prevented by the veto of just one delegation. It should also be said that there were differences of opinion. The mere fact that discussions were continued to the early hours on Saturday morning, instead of ending on Friday afternoon, reveals the hard struggle for formulations.

In the final document the states to the treaty promise to continue to do everything in their power to prevent the nonproliferation of nuclear arms, halt the nuclear arms race, and deepen cooperation in the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

While expressing satisfaction at the fact the states have observed the commitment to prevent the proliferation of nuclear arms in any circumstances, they do voice concern about the nuclear programs of states that have not joined the treaty. In this connection, South Africa and Israel were in particular repeatedly mentioned.

As was to be expected, a tough debate took place on Article 6 of the treaty, which binds the nuclear powers to negotiate effective measures for halting the nuclear arms race and for nuclear disarmament and to conclude, as soon as possible, a treaty on a general and total ban on all nuclear arms tests. The participants in the conference deplored the fact that these demands so far have not been fulfilled. They emphatically demanded, in particular, that negotiations be resumed soon on the ban on all nuclear arms tests.

The position of the United States, which does not show any interest in a quick ban on nuclear arms tests, was also included in the final document; however, that did not hush up the fact that the overwhelming majority of delegations here fully agreed with the USSR's demands and initiatives. In the document the Soviet moratorium on all nuclear explosions is expressly appreciated.

At the conference the hope was frequently voiced that steps for nuclear disarmament will now finally be taken, before the 4th review conference on the nonproliferation treaty meets in Geneva after another 5 years.

FISCHER MEETS WITH INDIAN, E. EUROPEANS AT UN

LD242307 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2043 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Text] UNO/New York, 24 Sep (ADN) -- GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer met on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly on Tuesday with Kursheed Alam Khan, Indian minister of state for external affairs. The two sides expressed their satisfaction with the development of bilateral relations and voiced the conviction that there are still great opportunities for their expansion.

The minister of state briefed the GDR foreign minister on the influence of his country in the Nonaligned Movement and voiced his high regard for the understanding the GDR gives to this movement. India agrees with all those who share the view that in a nuclear war there would be neither victors nor vanquished, but only victims. For this reason, all those who oppose the threat of a nuclear war should be supported.

At meetings with Luxembourg's Foreign Minister Jacques Poos and Foreign Minister of Burundi Laurent Nzeyimana, possibilities of expanding and deepening bilateral relations were the main issue. Oskar Fischer had a friendly exchange of views with Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja [as heard], and Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek.

CIVIL DEFENSE GROUP MEETS SWEDISH MINISTER

LD241136 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1102 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Text] Stockholm, 24 Sep (ADN) -- A delegation of the GDR Civil Defense Forces headed by Lieutenant General Fritz Peter, [chief of the Civil Defense Main Administration in the Ministry of National Defense], was received by Swedish Defense Minister Anders Thunborg today. The GDR civil defense chief conveyed greetings from Army General Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, which were most warmly reciprocated. Both parties noted in a talk that relations between the GDR and Swedish armed forces have developed further and that cooperation in the area of civil defense has been expanded.

The GDR delegation arrived in Sweden Monday at the invitation of Gunnar Gustafsson, director general of Swedish civil defense on a visit set to last several days. They are reciprocating the visit to the GDR by a Swedish delegation in 1984; their visit will include a tour of teaching institutions in the Swedish civil defense sector.

JOINT ARMY COURSE WITH PPR PILOTS ENDS

AU161203 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14-15 Sep 85 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN) -- A 2-week course of joint combat training of fighter pilots of the National People's Army [NVA] and the Polish Army ended on 13 September with comradeship-in-arms meetings. During the traditional squadron exchange between the Fritz Schmenkel air wing and a Polish partner unit, the pilots of the fraternal armies practiced their skills at interception exercises and other elements of flight combat training on the territory of the GDR and the Socialist neighboring country. During their stay in the GDR and PPR, the comrades-in-arms exchanged experiences and met for comparative sports contests. They visited the sites of antifascist resistance struggle and the Great Patriotic War and laid wreaths and flowers.

KADAR DEPARTS ON 'WORKING VISIT' TO USSR

LD241451 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Text] Janos Kadar is on his way to Moscow. Geza Foldvari reports from Ferihegy Airport:

[Foldvari] The party's first secretary has left for the USSR on a friendly working visit at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. In his entourage is Geza Kotai, member of the party's Central Committee, and director of the Central Committee International Relations Department.

Janos Kadar was seen off at Ferihegy Airport by Karoly Nemeth, deputy general secretary of the party; Ferenc Havasi and Miklos Ovari, members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committee; Janos Berecz, Istvan Horvath and Lenard Pal, secretaries of the Central Committee; Janos Kamara, member of the Central Committee and minister of the interior; minister of transportation, Lajos Urban; Gyula Horn, member of the Central Committee and state secretary at the Foreign Ministry; and Istvan Oesz, deputy director of the Central Committee International Relations Department. Ivan Aboimov, temporary charge d'affaires of the USSR Embassy in Budapest; was also present.

I remember having had the privilege of reporting on several occasions from Moscow that the Hungarian delegation led by Janos Kadar was welcomed at the Kiev train station or at one of the two airports by Mikhail Gorbachev. And I know that in the autumn of 1983 Gorbachev, at the time a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was also received by the Hungarian party leader in Budapest. It was early this year that the two met in Moscow again. On that occasion, Janos Kadar held a brief discussion with the newly-elected general secretary of the CPSU.

NEW 5-YEAR PLAN REPRESENTS ISSUES FOR DEBATE

AU240911 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Sep 85 p 3

[Article by Katalin Bossanyi: "Public Debates on the New 5-Year Plan"]

[Text] After 1 and 1/2 years of preparatory work the state planning activity outlining the direction of our development in the near future has come to an end. The government will now release several draft versions of the Seventh 5-Year Plan for public debate. Thus, in planning the national economy it will be possible to directly utilize the opinions and proposals of different forums of experts and bodies representing interests. Applying proposals from the public debates, the plan will be submitted to the supreme legislative body, the National Assembly, at the end of the year.

The socialization [tarsadalmasitas] of planning is not a formal gesture: Collective wisdom is asserted throughout it. Public debates can play an important supervisory role in planning the national economy and, at the same time, they can facilitate a skillfull harmony between desires and possibilities, as well as achievement of the necessary compromises. This consensus is one of the basic conditions for achieving the goals set and for implementing the plan. The realism of the draft is the other basic condition.

But realistic plans are not necessarily popular plans, and for the most part, they prove to be correct only later. One of the great lessons of recent years is that society as a whole has been rather pessimistic concerning the scant possibilities inherent in the national economic plan. At the same time, facts and economic processes have developed more unfavorably than the forecast [sentence as published]. Therefore, in the current phase that calls for communal thinking, one is justified in jointly analyzing the economic changes of the recent period and the collective experience that planners had already attempted to use in working out the draft.

In analyzing the possible versions of development, one is justified, first of all, in considering that, after the difficult decade behind us, including the no less difficult 5 years behind us, the acceleration of economic growth and the gradual elimination of the social problems that have developed are elementary social demands. The acceleration is present in all three versions of the plan outlines, which take into consideration different foreign and domestic conditions, but the extent and the 'means' differ from each other considerably. In the final analysis, what turns out to be the correct road for us will depend to a great extent on us. It depends on how much we can increase the economy's income-producing capacity and the individual's interest in more efficient work of better quality. This statement -- and the rather tough system of requirements behind it -- is also true in taking account of the fact that, due to our geographical-historical endowments and the openness of our economy, we continue to depend strongly on the long-term and even the temporary effects of world economy. Nevertheless, we have to place the emphasis on internal efforts because we are the ones who have to adjust. But in the future this adjustment -- and this is also a great lesson -- cannot be passive and acquiescent: We must look for lasting linkage points through which -- by reducing social and economic losses and by adequate selection -- we will be able to accelerate our development.

By weighing the possibilities of expanding our room to maneuver, we also have to face lessons that reflect both the administrative and the economic weaknesses; namely, that, while we can be proud justifiably of the results achieved so far in the stabilization of our economy, we have to be aware that this is still a very sensitive balance. The unfavorable economic processes of the current year prove that there is a shortage of the competitive goods necessary for the planned economic acceleration. The causes are structural tensions and the weaknesses of our manufacturing industry. Although we are lagging behind in structural renewal and modernization, we are still not too late. But, as we can see worldwide, it is impossible to change the product structure and to modernize without technological development and investments, and this takes time.

The plan outline also reflects the dilemma that has obviously also emerged in the public debate concerning whether it would not be more practical in the future to maintain our foreign debts at the current level, and instead to allocate the surplus income for the acceleration of structural change. This could also be one form of tactics. But we can see that countries that chose this road previously, and rephased their debts, are now forced to live with new social-economic tensions. The basic draft of the plan outline, which takes into account a modest decrease in total debts in the coming years, while increasing the proportion of domestic accumulation compared to the Sixth 5-Year Plan period, can promise a more encouraging solution, but not without conflict, either. It is practical to concentrate the bulk of production-oriented developments on the manufacturing industry, including mainly the structural renewal of the food, machine, and chemical industries. The achievement of growth, however, -- and this is a basic requirement -- is only permissible through implementing the necessary structural changes! A traditional increase in production would lead to new and considerable losses with the national economy and a decrease in the standard of living.

There is also a dilemma -- and this also encourages public debate and collective consideration of alternatives -- in the fact that so far the unilateral development of extractive and basic material producing branches and their unfavorable economic situation makes the structural reorganization of the manufacturing industry considerably more difficult. The development of our energy system and the procurement of the necessary raw materials require considerable investments in the next 5 years as well, and this limits the development possibilities of the manufacturing industry. World bank credits encouraging structural reorganization, the accelerated participation of active foreign capital, and the encouragement of the joint development of the enterprises, can represent alternative sources. For this, however, there would be a need for much greater openness and flexibility than today, both in the circle of economic units and in the methods of guidance and regulation available.

This is so because only an acceleration of the economy and the desirable structural and market changes can create a stable basis for the various forms of efforts to increase the standard of living in the plan outline. In the course of the public debate we must also take into consideration the fact that, in addition to maintaining the level of real wages and later gradually increasing them, social-political measures of a preventative and corrective character must be given greater scope than hitherto. At the same time, this shows that the strengthening of the market and of competition regularly differentiates incomes, but the "half market" [felpiac] situation that is still characteristic of many places also has lasting and unfavorable side-effects, that should justifiably be "dealt with" on a social scale.

This thought leads to the other great economic policy lesson embodied in the plan outline: that in the future course of planning we will have to take the longer term social connections and effects of concrete economic decisions more into consideration. During the recent difficult years government planning activity often concentrated on the elimination of daily problems, but we have to go beyond this in the future. It is precisely the further development of our management system and the consistent implementation of the reform that can create the expanding room to maneuver for this. The aim of the plan outline is to have a realistic starting point for the evaluation of possibilities and and for the development of versions for the next 5 years and an outline for our program of activity, based on collective clearsightedness, for the Seventh 5-Year Plan period.

FOREIGN MINISTERS HAIL 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF TIES

LD241853 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Text] The Hungarian and Soviet foreign ministers have exchanged greetings telegrams on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the restoration of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Peter Varkonyi stressed that in the past 4 decades Hungarian-Soviet relations have developed successfully in every sphere of life on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

Eduard Shevardnadze expressed his conviction that the two countries' friendship and multifaceted cooperation will continue to strengthen for the good of the Hungarian and Soviet peoples, the socialist community, peace, and socialism.

ASSAILANT, MOTIVATION OF BANK BOMBING UNKNOWN

LD241034 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Text] According to the latest report by Vienna radio 10 people were injured by the explosion at the Hungarian bank on Kaerntner Strasse.

It is not yet known who placed the explosives or why they were placed at the building housing the offices of the Central Exchange and Credit Bank. Last night's explosion caused serious material damage to the bank and neighboring buildings.

SUCCESSFUL UN DEBATES NEED 'GOOD INTENTIONS'

LD241113 Budapest MTI in English 1026 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Text] Budapest, September 24 (MTI) -- Tuesday's MAGYAR HIRLAP carried a lead article related to the beginning of the debate in the UN General Assembly. It concludes that there are plenty of subjects to debate since new hotbeds of crisis have evolved in the world and there are numerous old problems still awaiting solution. The article stipulates that although the mood of the General Assembly is influenced in a positive way by consciousness of a dialogue evolving slowly between the Soviet Union and the United States, "it would be a mistake to be overcome by illusions. There continue to be two fundamentally different opinions that are dominant as far as solutions to the urgent problems of bhe world are concerned. It cannot be expected that the gap separating the two sides will be bridged by a few verbal statements or meetings. The prerequisite for solution is mutual confidence, good intentions. Humankind justly expects that joint and creative initiatives will see the light of day in New York to solve the problems. The fundamental purpose of the United Nations is not to give a home to endless debate but to intensify cooperation among nations and protect our peace. This opinion will obviously be voiced by Hungary's foreign minister, Peter Varknyi, in his address to the General Assembly, too."

LOSONCZI SCHEDULED TO VISIT ANGOLA, ZIMBABWE

AU240853 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Sep 85 p 1

["Losonczi To Leave for Africa"]

[Text] Pal Losonczi, member of the MSZMP Politburo and president of the Presidential Council, will lead a party and state delegation to pay an official and friendly visit to Angola in the next few days at the invitation of Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the People's Republic of Angola and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Party of Labor. The president of the Presidential Council will then pay an official visit to Zimbabwe at the invitation of Canaan Sodindo Banana, president of the Republic of Zimbabwe.

KADAR ARRIVES IN USSR FOR TALKS; MEETS GORBACHEV

For media coverage of the visit to the Soviet Union by MSZMP First Secretary Janos Kadar, including his talks with CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, see the Eastern Europe section of the 25 September Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

RAKOWSKI ADDRESSES WARSAW SEJM CANDIDATES 19 SEP

LD211525 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1932 GMT 19 Sep 85

[Speech by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski on 19 September at meeting with candidates for membership of the Sejm in Praga District; Warsaw -- recorded]

[Excerpts] I would like to begin with a reflection -- that after the election, which will be held on 13 October, the situation in Poland will not change instantly, nor will there be any fundamental changes. Problems and issues that have to be resolved will remain. They will have to be resolved by using various methods and instruments, which are within our capabilities.

One could therefore ask: What will the elections bring? Or, perhaps: What should they bring? I think that, first and foremost, what they must or should bring depends on us to a large extent: A testimony given to the world that the sociopolitical situation in Poland is undergoing normalization, healthy normalization, because a Poland that is calm, a Poland that is not given in to emotions, a Poland that is rationally and wisely acting on matters that are important to it -- on internal affairs as well as foreign policy -- is something we need: It is needed by the Polish nation, but it is also needed by Europe and the world. Thus, from this point of view, we attach -- I think correctly -- very great significance to mass participation in the elections and to the results of the elections.

Among these questions I have received one that was put from the platform concerning the fact that, for some years now, people have spoken and written about the indifference of our society toward public matters: They speak about a flight from politics. I have spoken several times on this subject, and I am asked, therefore, for my opinion today about this matter. Well, I think -- perhaps I am wrong, but I don't think so -- that the time has come to correct this assessment, which, as the author of the question notes, I have also said several times -- I may actually say many times -- during the past few years. In my opinion, correction of this assessment must be made not only as a result of experiences that we carry away from this first round of the electoral campaign -- meetings with prospective candidates. Therefore, not only this fact, not only the course of these meetings -- as the chairman of our meeting quite rightly says, they were interesting -- forces me to reconsider this assessment.

I would like to add, however, that very often one meets with the view that the whole of society is indifferent, or that the whole of society is characterized by a flight away from politics. Well, I would like to say that I think as far as the party and the people's authorities are concerned, we have never spoken in the last years about indifference, apathy, or lack of interest in politics among all of society. After all, it is known that a not inconsiderable number of citizens in Poland gave moral backing to the introduction of martial law -- moral and political backing -- and a not inconsiderable number also expressed the view in the first few months after the introduction of martial law that it was a necessary move. One also cannot say that the majority of party members took an indifferent stance -- or indeed the members of the allied parties. Nor were those who participated in the creation of the national patriotic movement indifferent. Nor were those who in difficult conditions -- often in situations of great moral pressure -- participated in the creation of new trade unions or the rebuilding of the union movement indifferent.

There have been several questions here -- I have suddenly remembered this Passent person [deputy chief editor and leading columnist of POLITYKA], because a comrade has been suggesting here that I have some sort of connection with this Passent, or with this POLITYKA.

Well, I am a reader of POLITYKA: I don't forego this, for it was my baby for 20 years. But, you see, I don't become indignant about what Passent writes. Why is this? I too sometimes get furious when I read this. Either there are to be various views and opinions expressed in the Polish press or not, right? So there is to be freedom of the press -- or is there not to be freedom of the press? Well, if there is to be freedom, then many a person will write any old thing that comes into his head -- that is, I would say, the characteristic of this [pauses] profession. One could, of course, if one wished -- with the help of censorship or other means of persuasion -- curtail this. But then someone would climb onto a rostrum and say: This press is boring, everything is a carbon copy of everything else. Actually, some people already say this, don't they? (?They are constantly repeating: No.) If we really want to liberate thought in Poland, a thought free to the highest degree, (?a thought) which, of course, takes into account the circumstances in which man is operating, in which the nation is operating, then let us reconcile ourselves to the fact that there are various opinions. I consider it to be a great success of ours that we have so often -- maybe even in this hall -- various views on this or another matter. One must reach one view, the one that is the most advantageous for social development, the nation, the state.

I wish to say one more thing: How do we counteract phenomena of the sort seen in the square in front of the church in Krakowskie Przedmiescie [Warsaw street] -- a cross made up of flowers; within the cross a lot of cemetery candles, cards, photographs, pictures on the cards; and, decorated with as many as four flaming candles, a sign: "Passer-by, remember that we are all mortal." This is no discovery. And the one with the biggest ears -- that's Urban [laughter] -- and the one who wears dark glasses, and the one who serves them -- that's me. They sing songs there about Jaruzelski and about me.

There is a song the old women wail there -- those that go there. Well, what can one say? I will tell you. I think that it is proof of the political culture of those who organize this. It is they who ought to be ashamed. They do not distinguish themselves in the history of our nation, in which there are more than a million people with higher education and more than 6 million with secondary school education. I would say it is simply knocking in dark places, in the murky corners of man. It is playing on the lowest instincts.

Let them play: They won't change Poland, they will not lead socialist development from its path, even if they stand on their heads. They can place 10 crosses of flowers there if they wish! [tumultuous applause] After all, they don't do this because of their religious convictions. They are organized political demonstrations. Isn't that so? They will not turn Poland from this path. They will not.

There are too many advocates of socialism in our country. That was the great mistake of all the [pauses] various gentlemen who believed that the whole nation would applaud them -- right? -- and worship them, and that they would dismantle the Polish economy -- right? -- and accept parcels from abroad. Yes! This was to be the future of their Poland. Let them lay out these crosses if they believe that this is proof of political culture. [tumultuous applause]

There is also, finally, a question concerning the relations between the church and the state. One of them is as follows: In the past few years the church has taken under its wings people who do not hide what I would call a specific attitude to our reality, that is, they do not hide their enmity. In the past, many of them did not hide their enmity toward the church and religion. Out loud, in truth, they proclaimed their atheism. Now they rejoice in the protection of bishops and parish priests. There was a request that I should comment on this phenomenon: Well, that's true, but I can only comment on it since this question should really have been directed not to me, but to one of the fathers of the church, for this is a matter that relates more closely to the church than to us.

However, since such a question has been put, I will willingly present my view on this subject -- but first, certain facts should be recalled. It is known that in the past few years some of the Social Self-Defense Committee [KOR] activists -- professing Trotskyite concepts, anarcho-syndicalist, social-democratic concepts -- some luminaries of the humanities, and some publicists who for many decades ostentatiously paraded their secularity and their atheism suddenly became fervent followers of the Catholic Church. For someone who is not familiar with the complexities of political life in Poland it may seem that we are dealing here with a hidden, unexpected, or simply a miraculous conversion and that communists, having doubts about the purity of the intentions that accompanied these conversions or about the rational premises -- the irrational premises -- that created this phenomenon, are prejudiced against these people, since some of them were at one time party members, and it is well known that renegades are not liked. But this could be said only by someone who does not know the entangled Polish reality -- does not know our circumstances. Even if we assume that this or that one from the group of people of which I speak became a convert, then, from a careful analysis of what they say, write, and do, it appears that this category of people unequivocally marched onto the terrain of the Catholic Church because one day they reached a turning point within themselves. We are speaking here of a religious experience. Sociological research, which is being conducted in Poland, demonstrates that in Poland -- as is rare perhaps in any world [as heard] -- there exists a certain category of people who are surprising. Well, this is a category of people who describe themselves as non-believing but practising or non believers in God, but supporters of the Roman Catholic Church. It all indicates that those people behave like that because they consider that the Catholic Church has significance for them as an earthly institution, and as such can constitute comfortable support in their struggle against the existing socialism. One can say they have treated the church as an instrument -- as a means simply of helping their actions.

Often the choice of the church was made due to lack of courage, because to get involved in underground activity is dangerous, but under the wings of the church one can be safe: It is known that one should not be afraid while staying in God's houses.

It is obvious that such instrumental treatment of the church would be impossible if in the ranks of the clergy there were no individuals who support the struggle against socialism, and -- it must be added -- conduct the struggle themeselves. It is generally known that in the past few years among the Catholic clergy, which often demonstrated great patriotism and loyalty, this -- I would like to stress clearly -- extremist group of priests evolved: A minority that is making use of the pulpit or other possibilities of freedom that are at the disposal of the church to wage an unprecedented -- indeed, unprecedented -- struggle against the socialist system. The minority is composed of priests from I would say the middle or lower level of Catholic clergy, but it is clear that they would be unable to conduct this activity if they did not enjoy the support of some bishops: This is obvious.

The activity of extremist priests in fact demands separate treatment. I have no intention of speaking on the subject today, but I would like to go back to the question: I said that, in fact, fathers of the church should be asked what is their opinion on keeping these people in the Catholic Church. I said that they should be asked because they are sheltering not under our wings, but under the wings of the church, and the church fathers should reply. As far as my view is concerned, I can only formulate it as a man standing outside -- as an observer. In my view, instrumental treatment of the church by KOR activists and other small groups fighting against socialism is unprofitable for the Roman Catholic Church in Poland for many reasons.

Firstly, whether or not it is wanted, the church is being drawn into a political game that brings certain defined consequences.

The fact, objectively speaking, must be reflected in state-church relations, because in the existing situation short circuits appear on the line -- short circuits that are unnecessary for both the state and the church. Secondly, this is, I think, contradictory to the historic task of the church on earth at the present moment, which is to assimilate the principles that will create a permanent place in the socialist formation for the Catholic Church. Since one of the goals of the oppositionists, after all -- of the KOR people who have gone under the wing of the church -- is destruction, weakening the foundations of our system, organization of sociopolitical life, and this goal, in addition, finds support among a part of the clergy -- a certain group of clergy -- it is obvious that achieving this historic goal -- working out the proper status for the Catholic Church in the socialist formation -- is threatened not so much by -- is not so much problematical as definitely a cause of conflict. It creates a difficult situation for the Catholic Church.

Finally, the third reason this is also -- in my opinion -- unfavorable for the church, is that those people I am talking about operate not only outside the church, so to speak -- in the sense of the houses of God -- but often even use the houses of God to carry out antisocialist activity. What does this actually mean? This means that they bring politics into the house of prayer. What's more, they demand of the faithful that they make a choice there in the church: for or against socialism; for the authorities or against the authorities; to take part in the elections or not to take part in the elections. Thus, they put many people, many Catholics, in an exceptionally difficult and complicated situation.

I would add, moreover, that people most frequently go to church in order -- well, in order, I would say, to get a rest from the tumult of everyday life. There are many such Catholics in Poland, who go there to meet with God. What they meet, I would say, is a political offer and we -- it emerges from the research that we are carrying out, which is being carried out by our public opinion research centers, and from letters which come in to us that a large section of Catholics -- and this is a growing number -- is simply dissatisfied with this situation because it would like to regard the house of God as a place of escape, so to speak, from the toil and drudgery of every day. Suddenly people appear to whom an old joke from the forties applies: When the elevation was taking place and everyone was kneeling, one remained standing. Somebody asked him why he wasn't kneeling and he said: I'm a nonbeliever. Then why are you in church? Because I'm against the government. Today, after 30 years, this same attitude would seem to be repeating itself.

Another question arises: Is order and harmony, on which certain values contained in the church's teachings are based, disturbed by the infusion of lay elements, people who by their nature were atheists, who do not hide that they treat the church instrumentally? Naturally, this is not my concern, but if I have to answer the question of what I think about the entry of this group of people -- often bitter opponents of socialism -- into the church, then, having in mind their past, I must express my reservations. This is how I see the reply to the question concerning this group of people being in the Catholic Church.

The question was asked: When does the government intend to implement the law on parasitism? I know this refers to those people born on a Sunday -- and soon to those born on a work-free Saturday. Well, of course, I want to say this: This act was submitted to the Sejm on the government's initiative. The Sejm deputies gave it loving treatment, if I can be allowed to put it like that. They toned it down in some (?places), and the act went through. But, esteemed gathering, how is such an act to be implemented? Can it be done by Jaruzelski alone, or even by the minister of justice, or by Kiszczak? When all is said and done -- and this is not just the case as regards this act, it is so with many laws in Poland -- the implementation of that law, those laws that have been laid down, depends on all of us.

Now, let one in every two citizens -- for I don't want to call anybody out in this hall -- beat his breast and search his conscience: How many times has he slithered like an eel past a given regulation or act? Somebody here appealed for a high standard of legal behavior. True, but what is this supposed to mean in practice? It means, among other things, a high standard of discipline in the implementation or execution of those laws that are in operation. Of course, an act could be proposed to the Sejm that would step up the sanctions even more. It could be! But do you think that the problem would be solved by doing so -- or the problem of observing the law in Poland, in general?

Fight against speculation, we hear. Of course we are fighting! But it takes two to speculate: The man who sells at speculative prices and the man who buys. So I don't want to appear here as a moralist with special rights or a missionary or a person who thinks himself without blemish and that everybody else has flaws. That's not the point. It's just that we are very often subjected to criticism for things that happen not because we are incompetent, but because all fellow-citizens together create those happenings. One person violates a rule, another bypasses it, yet another swindles somebody. We meet this sort of thing at every step. Do I have to read a list of all the things from state-run enterprises that are being sold on the side, or thefts from socialized enterprises -- often big and ingenious ones?

The point is: Do we have to watch the authorities? I fully agree. I am one of those who have constantly advocated it, because authority tends to be somewhat conceited. But one must watch every authority, not only selectively. I watch those at the top, but if I am a head of department I also operate in the authority apparatus -- the economic, the state, or the self-managing authority. This is the essence of appeals made by considerable people in Poland addressed to the others. There are many considerate people who say: Let us sort out our country together.

Let us remember -- and I cordially encourage you to do this -- while debating weaknesses that appear in people's socialist Poland, where our roots lie. I mean our history. It is true that it is famous, but it often requires great criticism. We should remember our Polish nobility, our liberum veto, our bad traditions. Various slogans -- such as: Every nobleman on his farm is equal to a voivoda -- are even reflected today. We are not the only fathers of these weaknesses: Some weaknesses have deep historical roots. Poles like history very much -- I myself am a fanatic about history -- but sometimes they have a selective attitude toward history: They take what they like.

I have received a question concerning Gorbachev and the Soviet Union -- how I assess the Polish public's opinion of Gorbachev, his influence on our country. The question is indeed an interesting and important one. As in many other countries of the world, both socialist and capitalist, in the Polish community Mikhail Gorbachev's public speeches; interviews for the Western press, like for example his recent interview for the American weekly TIME; direct meetings with working people; and the intentions, presented by him, of the Soviet leadership both in economic and social policy and in internal and foreign policy have indeed caused the person of new general secretary of the CPSU to create much interest; and I think that one can say -- I think that many of you have a similar experience: That the general secretary of the CPSU is spoken about on various occasions, at meetings, among close friends, or at work -- in a word, the interest is considerable and it is a fact that he is being looked at sympathetically.

I get this impression from my contacts with society. If one looks at the social and economic goals formualted by Mikhail Gorbachev, then I think one can say that they augur the Soviet Union's entry into the next stage of quantitative and qualitative development of that country.

I think that this fact cannot fail to cheer all supporters of socialism throughout the world and also cannot fail to cheer those of our fellow-countrymen who look at the world realistically and know that the growth of the material and spiritual strength of the Soviet Union signifies at the same time an increase in our condition as a state belonging to the world socialist system and, more precisely, to the community of socialist countries.

I think that this dynamic growth of the Soviet Union, which is anticipated by the developmental concepts expressed by Gorbachev, is also an important factor in all the measures by the socialist states aimed at consolidating peace and basing it on very strong and lasting foundations. It is well-known that the victims of wars -- the victims of attacks -- are the weaker people. The stronger ones are never victims. So, since this was also included in the question -- As for the bearing on our country of the dynamic domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Union, it is obvious that it opens up and broadens new possibilities of cooperation in all spheres of life between Poland and the Soviet Union and encourages us to step up our efforts toward consistent implementation of the program of socialist renewal. This is the conclusion I would draw -- that is how I would reply to the question I have been asked.

But that is not all. I have noted -- and rightly so, I think -- the increased interest in Poland in the person, or the great interest in Poland in the person of Mikhail Gorbachev. I think that my answer to the question would not be complete if I were not to take up a certain topic that is also an important element in our political life. It is well-known -- we have spoken about it many times; I spoke about it today as well -- that there exist in our country people who are the declared opponents of socialism. They did not conceal their hostility in 1981 or in the following years. Well, one of the characteristic traits of their ideology -- if one can put it like that -- is anti-Sovietism, and I would say -- or, I have to correct myself, it isn't a characteristic trait, it is the foundation of their ideology: anti-Sovietism -- it is on this that hostility to socialism in our country is based, or from this that it emerges, in fact. When one reads various publications or hears various opinions expressed by that section of people of whom I am thinking, then one wonders at the boundlessness of their stupidity, for, basically, when one reads those anti-Soviet pamphlets or their statements on their attitude to the Soviet Union, then one can see that the Polish right wing has not learned anything.

It is continuing the policy implemented by Poland's bourgeois governments. It is continuing the policy of the London government, of the authors of the Burza Plan, or behaving like the people in the national armed forces, who in 1945, on Polish soil, shot at Soviet and Polish soldiers. Someone may ask why I link that behavior, this attitude, to the Soviet Union and the arrival of Mikhail Gorbachev in the post of first [pauses] -- general secretary of the CPSU. Well, there is a very simple reason: The point is that the opponents of socialism in Poland, those people with a distinct anti-Soviet attitude or who profess, so to speak, an anti-Soviet ideology, refer in their activities -- calculated to get supporters in our country -- not only to the past, not only to history, but also to the present day. Of what does this consist? Well, it consists primarily in this: I'm proving that Poles should not be interested in entering into friendship or in maintaining friendship with the Soviet Union, because this is a system that is lagging behind the United States, and hence the conclusion that, since this is the situation, one should call into doubt or not believe in the reformability of our system -- one should not believe in the possibility of dialectic changes, which must take place inside socioeconomic structures. This sort of understanding grows out of anti-Sovietism. In face of this, Poles should look around for someone else: We know that these various deliberations lead to this conclusion.

It is obvious that this attempt to compromise the Soviet Union passes over the Soviet Union's starting point: It passes over the price the Soviet Union paid during World War II to save its nation, and also other nations, from fascism. It passes over a whole number of other circumstances. It doesn't see -- or doesn't want to see -- that in a short time a backward country became a highly-industrialized country; that it built a strong defense capability; that it has a powerful scientific base; and, finally, that the first man to go into space was from Soviet territory -- the unforgettable Yuriy Gagarin.

So, in all this propaganda, in this attempt to draw conclusions from the Soviet Union's lagging behind compared to the United States -- and, for instance, the conclusion that, in view of this, one should not believe in the prospects of socialism; one should not perceive socialism's prospects because it's just not convenient to -- I think that in light of the views expressed by the opponents of socialism in our country, it is obvious that the acceleration of the rate of development of the Soviet economy; the introduction of dynamism into its economy and scientific-technical and industrial development; the stress on an increase in industrial production; the activities of the Soviet leaders, who refer to the teachings of Lenin and Leninist practices -- these factors will increase Polish society's sincere and friendly interest in the Soviet Union. As for those people about whom I spoke, logically speaking, this kind of development in the Soviet Union will shatter the premises by which attempts are being made to use them for anti-Soviet goals and create an unfriendly climate for socialism here in Poland.

RAKOWSKI VIEWS GOVERNMENT, MEDIA, OPPOSITION

AU200836 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Sep 85 pp 3, 5

[Interview given by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, deputy premier and PZPR Politburo member, to Krystyna Kostrzewa; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Kostrzewa: You are a member of the leadership of the executive and administrative arm of government. A Sejm deputy, on the other hand, is a member of the highest organ of state power. The main function of this organ, alongside its legislative one, is that of exercising control -- control in relation to the government. How, then, is it possible to perform both a senior governmental function and a parliamentary one at the same time? In a letter to the editor one reader wrote: It is as if you were exercising control over yourself.

Rakowski: I should like to draw attention to the fact that there are not all that many members of the government standing in the ninth Sejm elections -- fewer than there have been in the past. But that does not matter. Nowhere -- or almost nowhere -- in the world does being a member of a government bar one from participating in parliamentary work: combining these functions is not therefore a Polish or socialist invention. It has become established practice for ruling parties in European and many non-European developed countries to assign many of its members to parliament, regardless of how senior the government functions they perform may be. This is done for important and understandable reasons. A ruling party wants to have the strongest possible parliamentary representation appropriate to its needs, and it also wants to ensure that it has the greatest possible room for maneuver in cadre policy during its term of office. This is also true of coalition governments. As for myself, I see no conflict between being a Sejm deputy and a deputy premier, if I continue to be entrusted with this post, for I have an undivided feeling of responsibility to the state. Under our political system, government and parliament have a common aim, that of working for the good of the state.

Kostrzewa: How can we present those in power from becoming arrogant, having established that the chief cannot look after everything himself?

Rakowski: There is no better vaccine against this illness than real and authentic social control. One must keep an eye on the authorities. Public opinion can and must do this. By keeping an eye on the authorities, I mean not only that the electorate should check to see whether those in power are forming the right kind of attitudes, but that people should also compare words with deeds -- with their social consequences. That is why I personally attach so much importance to all the elements in the program of the ninth party congress, which set out the road to the creation of a great variety of self-government bodies in our state. By the nature of things, national wisdom is accumulated in these bodies, and they provide a means for informing those at the top of all sorts of irregularities and disturbing phenomena and of voicing opinions on the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of policy.

Kostrzewa: This leads me to ask another question on this subject: What about propaganda? As a journalist of many years standing, I frequently come across a manner of writing that has been summed up in the expression "one of the eggs smells in parts."

Rakowski: I think we all agree that the subjects discussed in the mass media pertain to many more areas of life than was the case in the 1970's and earlier. Proof of this is the open publication of the results of opinion polls on various subjects, including matters relating to the government, whereas for years the results of such polls were assiduously suppressed. Nevertheless, I do recognize that society expects more than that today, that no one should be immune from criticism, and that criticism should be of a less general sort and aimed more at individuals. If "X" is exercising power on my behalf, I have a right to criticize him and he, as someone performing a public function, should take account of criticism and treat it as being part of the normal state of affairs. One expects propaganda to call things by their name and to speak in a language that people understand. How can this style of propaganda be cultivated? I think we are getting there: Propaganda is evolving in the right direction, although it is doing so too slowly. The tempo of change in propaganda does depend on many things, including historical events, but it depends above all on the people working in propaganda. They must shed cautiousness, stop dodging issues and avoiding difficulties, and be prepared to take risks. We in the government have overcome this barrier: The press spokesman's conferences for foreign and domestic jurnalists attest to this. There are never any taboo subjects at these conferences.

Kostrzewa: On the basis of your meeting with people, how, in your opinion, would you describe the level of society's trust in the government and how would you rate progress in stabilizing the political situation? Is the gulf between the government and society that, in the opinion of some people, existed not so long ago being eliminated? All this is exceptionally important for leading the country out of the crisis and achieving further progress.

Rakowski: On the basis of letters I have received and meetings with people, I believe that the situation is being stabilized and that the process is gaining momentum. I know about a lot of problems in our country that a member of the government ought to be familiar with. Among these problems is the heterogeneity of Polish society and, consequently, the need for a variegated approach in dealing with its various groups and circles. My meetings with people enabled me to correct the view that society was indifferent toward politics, which was at one time bandied around. No, Polish society is not indifferent toward politics. It is, however, unwilling to say explicitly and publicly that it is for this or that idea. This has its roots in the political crisis of recent years, in the devaluation of many ideas and practices, and the loss of trust generally. Nowadays no one applauds without good reason, and no one is satisfied with promises.

What I have had to say about the process of political stabilization is not an expression of my wishes, nor is it the promotion of a slogan. It is the truth, based on facts and phenomena. There was a time when people did not want to speak, or would just mutter. Now we can talk for hours. The subjects of these conversations and discussions are also different. The level of public trust in the authorities has increased. He who has from the beginning put forward the thesis that a gulf separates the authorities from society is mistaken. Criticism of the authorities for this or that move in no way implies that a gulf exists, nor does the existence of different views of problems: it is something that must occur not infrequently in a country with a population of several million. I think that we shall overcome this ill will. In fact, we are already overcoming it, as the way in which preelection meetings have been going shows.

Kostrzewa: In that case, what constitutes the most serious political problem in our country? The existence of an opposition?

Rakowski: No, the opposition cannot be regarded as the main political problem facing our state, neither today nor tomorrow. Why? If one excludes those people who hold different points of view, or propose different solutions to the various national problems and do not therefore applaud what the authorities are doing at all, one finds that the opposition is rather insignificant. To be sure, the opposition is vociferous, but it is few in number. More improtantly, it lacks the wide social base essential for activity. Moreover, the base that it has continues to grow smaller. This is happening because the authorities, with the help of society, of course, are being consistent in implementing the reforms that workers demanded in August 1980, whereas the opposition has not so far produced a program of positive action because it does not have one. It based and it bases its way of seeing Poland's affairs on the negation of all that we have achieved, all that we possess, and all that we aspire to. It is based on an unrealistic view of the world in which Poland exists.

Kostrzewa: One has heard some mention of a new program lately.

Rakowski: It is similar to previous ones. In other words, it is a program of negation, of pious wishes and, on top of that, open antipathy toward socialism.

Kostrzewa: What then are the most important problems facing our country? Problems facing the Sejm, the government, and society as a whole.

Rakowski: Economic problems, broadly speaking. The economy is a political problem in our country. A resolute and systematic reconstruction of the structures that guide our economy, based on the principles contained in the reform, is essential. Thus, we are talking about a reformed economy. The consistent and continuous implementation of the economic reform is, in my opinion, an objective factor increasing social confidence in the policies of the party and government, for only reform can make the realization of the social demands of August 1980 possible. The reform can bring the progress that is awaited and what follows it, an increase in the standard of living. Every departure from the principles of the reform -- and I should like to stress this most strongly -- threatens to diminish social confidence in the government and in its highest organ, the Sejm, and that in turn results in ill will, indifference, and unrest at a time when what is needed is action and inventiveness. An essential element of the reform is, therefore, worker self-management with wide powers at its disposal, for this creates a great opportunity for the workers' class to satisfy its desire to participate in governing, in deciding the future of the country, and in this way it releases the energy and motivation essential for productive and high quality work. In the economic sphere, in the broad sense, people should and must really feel that they are in charge.

RZECZPOSPOLITA INTERVIEWS HENRYK JABLONSKI

Part I

AU180958 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Sep 85 p 3

[First part of a two-part interview with Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State, by Jerzy Wierzcholski; date and place not given]

[Text] Wierzcholski: As a young historian writing your doctoral dissertation in the thirties were you already contemplating a career in politics, or did you feel that your vocation was solely an academic one?

Jablonski: I had developed academic ambitions towards the end of my time at secondary school. Quite early on, long before writing my doctoral dissertation, I had defined my political position. My political views were formed in a left-wing milieu. Among my close friends were people who had committed themselves to political activity. A political career of my own, however, lay outside my interests. I saw my future in terms of being a scholar and teacher and a member of the Polish Socialist Party. Besides, I also had good examples to follow on the left: that of Professor Zygmunt Szymanowski or of Professor Stefan Czarnowski, who were involved in politics but who were academics first and foremost.

Wierzcholski: How did the war affect your political interests and the consolidation of your affiliation to the left?

Jablonski: My interests did not so much increase as become activated, translated into action. I simply regarded it as my duty. Whether I was in uniform or not, I continued to feel myself to be a soldier. Under the conditions of the time, political activity was part of the liberation struggle. For me, the goal of this struggle was an independent Polish state, a state that would be stronger and more able to develop than the prewar one, for it would be a people's state that would realize the dreams of social justice of my youth. That is why I wrote "For the people, with the people, and by the people -- there is no other road" in a pamphlet that was published in 1942.

Wierzcholski: For many years your academic work has been inseparably bound up with your involvement in politics. You are a member of many academies and a doctor "honoris causa" of several Polish and foreign institutions, but at the same time you perform state functions that carry constant responsibility. How do you reconcile these two areas of activity, each of which requires total commitment and the expenditure of not inconsiderable effort?

Jablonski: If one reads the history of my life more closely, one sees quite clearly that it falls into various periods. Before the war I was a scholar first and foremost. In the first few years after the war I had to combine politics and scholarship. I had a great deal of energy, the ability to forego many pleasures, and an exceptionally tolerant family, who accepted that I could not devote much time to them. But later there was a period during which I was solely a university professor. Then I worked in the Polish Academy of Sciences for several years. It was difficult to reconcile research work, teaching, and "state" work, but it was possible by adhering to a strict regime in the allocation of my time. I devoted all my free time to research work. I used to write during holidays. Perhaps that is rather unusual, but I derive so much pleasure from academic work that no form of relaxation can be substitute for it. From the end of 1965 onwards, when I became minister for higher education, it became increasingly difficult to combine various functions. But nevertheless I somehow managed. The hardest times for me as a historian came when I was made chairman of the Council of State. Perhaps you have noticed that my last book was published in 1978.

After that I could only manage to produce a few odds and ends, for my present function entails a lot of work if one wants to perform it correctly.

Wierzcholski: The Sejm occupies the summit of the structure of organs of state power. People's councils, together with citizens' self-government bodies, constitute its foundation. What place does the Council of State actually occupy in this structure?

Jablonski: The Council of State does not have authority over people's councils. It has a supervisory function, which it exercises above all by providing assistance. This is done by holding periodic conferences for voivodship people's council chairmen, commission chairmen, or directors of bureaus. At these meetings fundamental problems facing councils are discussed and experiences are exchanged. These meetings are organized by a special commission of ours, the Commission for People's Councils and Regional Self-Government. After the last people's council elections, we held many training programs for councillors. The commission I have mentioned keeps in constant contact with councillors, its members take part in council meetings, and experiences gained are disseminated in various forms, including a special bulletin that we publish. When we think that we ought to draw the attention of people's councils to some important tasks, the commission informs the councils by letter. The chairman of the Council of State himself writes on matters of particular importance. However, I should like to state quite clearly that these letters do not contain recommendations, but only observations, advice, and suggestions. Decisions rest with the councils themselves.

There is also an Interministerial Commission for Social Pledges attached to the Council of State. It provides councils with various forms of assistance, including financial assistance.

The Council of State also organizes an annual "Master of Efficient Management" contest for towns and communes. The special contest jury, whose members include representatives of certain government departments, evaluates the achievements of those taking part and awards prizes, of course. It is a good way of fostering local activity.

I omit "bureaucratic" connections with councils, such as salary decisions.

Wierzcholski: On the initiative of the Council of State, draft laws on the fundamental status of the political system have been submitted to the Sejm. During the last Sejm there were weighty documents concerning the Supreme Court, the public prosecutor's office, the system of people's councils, the Sejm, and the people's council electoral law. The council is also empowered to issue directives that have the force of law. How, in practice, does the process of initiating legislation by the Council of State proceed?

Jablonski: Draft laws submitted to the Sejm concern the Council of State's area of activity and stem from an analysis of the situation or from needs that arise in the course of our normal work. Having determined the direction that the envisaged regulation is going to take, a draft or the principles of a draft are worked out. They arise in various ways, in institutions subordinated to the Council of State or in one of its commissions. Sometimes special teams are formed, made up of members of the Council of State, as well as experts. The preliminary draft is discussed by the section of the commission that has the greatest responsibility for the pertinent data. From there it goes before the Legal Commission, from there to the Presidium, and from the Presidium to a plenary session of the Council of State. Of course, after reviewing the draft, the Council of State can return it for further work, having considered its recommendations. Then the draft is sent out to the ministries affected by it for their agreement, and after receiving their opinions, a final draft law is prepared and put before the Sejm.

As you know -- for RZECZPOSPOLITA provides us with much valuable help in this matter -- the beginning of this process, that is, determining principles, does not take place in the quiet of our studies. The principles are made the subject of wide consultations, so that the preliminary draft of the law will already be at a fairly advanced stage, and so that the projected legislative regulation will enjoy public acceptance.

The Council of State issues directives very rarely. As a rule drafts are usually submitted by the government.

Wierzcholski: How does the "collective leadership of the state" operate under your direction? What is the role of the chairman in relation to the remaining members of the council? Is there a division of responsibility among them?

Jablonski: I shall begin with the last question. The Council of Ministers operates with the help of its commissions. Commission members are members of the Council of State and sometimes specialists who are not members of the council. Therefore, every member of the council has certain defined areas of responsibility. The commissions have presidiums that prepare for commission plenary sessions with the help of the Chancellery of the Council of State.

Matters of very great importance that require Council of State resolutions are presented by commissions at plenary sessions.

The chairman of the Council of State directs the work of the Council of State and acts as its representative. In addition to this, regulations outline a series of tasks for the chairman and are contained in as many as 13 points. To enumerate each of these would probably take up too much time and too much space in your newspaper, so an example or two will suffice: He has the authority to conclude international agreements; he accepts diplomatic credentials and resignations from diplomatic representatives of other states accredited to the Council of State; he recognizes the consular representation of foreign states, and appoints the most senior army officers.

The presidium is an internal State Council body that oversees the councils' work (both plenum and commission). Its members are the council chairman, his deputy, the secretary to the Council of State and the head of the Council of State Chancellery, by virtue of the office he holds.

Wierzcholski: Many readers would like to know how decisions are made concerning the use of the council's authority to grant clemency and bestow citizenship.

Jablonski: I have already explained this in part when discussing the work of commissions. Provisional decisions in the aforementioned areas are prepared by the Commission for Clemency or the Commission for Citizenship. An appeal for clemency made by the party concerned or his representative is considered by a voivodship court, which examines the case in question, the first president of the Supreme Court and the Prosecutor General. In addition to this, if the person sentenced is serving a prison sentence, an opinion as to his conduct is sought from the authorities of the appropriate penal institution.

In the course of examining a case -- for example, that of a person who has been sentenced to receive the death penalty -- the commission not only conducts a detailed examination of the crime and the sentence, but also considers medical opinions concerning the mental health of the perpetrator of the crime.

After being considered by administrative organs, matters pertaining to citizenship are examined at sessions of the appropriate Council of State commission.

Wierzcholski: In what ways does the chairman of the Council of State act as the state's representative? Is his work in this respect purely a matter of protocol?

Jablonski: In every state there are, of course, representative and protocol functions to be performed. I acted in a capacity of this kind when I attended the funeral of Indira Gandhi. However, attendance at a UN General Assembly or at a conference of heads of states and governments in New York cannot be described in such terms.

In certain instances representative functions are combined with functions of a substantive kind. For example, receiving the credentials of a foreign ambassador is a protocol function. This is followed, however, by a private audience during which relations between Poland and the given country are discussed. These audiences last varying lengths of time. The shortest last about half an hour, while those with ambassadors of countries with which we have highly developed relations, or from countries which are important to us in some way, can last an hour or sometimes longer. These meetings are important inasmuch as they give both sides an opportunity to present their positions. An ambassador naturally conveys to his government what he hears during such a meeting.

As an aside, I can tell you that one has to be well prepared for such "private audiences" by familiarizing oneself with material from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and, at times, from other ministries. I gave 52 such audiences to foreign ambassadors in 1984, received 19 foreign politicians, and met 6 parliamentary delegations.

Protocol functions and those of a substantive kind are also combined during trips abroad. That is why one often travels with all one's staff.

Part II

AU181036 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14-15 Sep pp 3, 5

[Second part of a two-part interview with State Council Chairman Henryk Jablonski by Jerzy Wierzcholski; date and place not given]

[Text] Wierzcholski: The office you represent is accorded, and not only in Poland, a certain symbolic meaning that expresses the state's unity and its social integrity. Taking our difficult historical and modern experiences into account, what issues do you think are particularly important for strengthening the state as a community of citizens? What could consolidate this community even more and what could disintegrate it?

Jablonski: The reply requires a brief introduction. It is banal to say that particularly serious economic difficulties enhance social tension and encourage disintegration. I have also heard more than once -- during the present election campaign as well -- that if a really tangible economic improvement were to occur more quickly, there would be faster progress in achieving national accord, greater order and social discipline, an end to speculation, and so on. Of course. After all, the Politburo report to the 18th PZPR Central Committee Plenum said: "The front of productivity is always important. The results achieved here determine the material conditions of people's lives. Success in this sphere depends to a large extent on sociopolitical stabilization and on social support by the workers class and broad sectors of society for the party's program and actions."

No one in his right mind will question this. The point is that a false chord resounds in some of the speeches that have been quoted: "Let the state do it." There is only one addressee, the authorities. The duties of the party, government, and economic administration cannot be denied, but the rate of improvement depends on a joint, integrated effort by the whole of society. Conclusion: One must search people's

attitudes for energy reserves that would permit a more rapid solution to the chief problems of the state and people. Good laws and an intelligent policy by the state authorities are essential, but laws and directives cannot act on their own. They are implemented by broad masses of citizens. It is true that various incentives such as economic ones for greater productivity can be applied. But such a method cannot be applied everywhere and in all spheres of social life.

Therefore, it is essential now, just as it has been so far, to remind people stubbornly and consistently that there are supreme issues that are more important than any of the differences that exist between us -- a concern for law and order, firmly combating anarchy and social pathology, continuing the economic reform, and at the same time developing with equal consistency socialist democracy, strengthening democratic institutions, and displaying the practical possibilities for citizens to take an energetic part in public life.

This is not easy, because the crisis has manifested itself not only in politics and economy, but also in ethics: there are still forces trying to disrupt society and exaggerate differences such as differences in world outlook; thinking in terms of a state was never satisfactorily developed; there is still a lot of mistrust in society; and finally, although their influence has seriously dwindled, there are still openly antisocialist forces that are supported by our foreign adversaries.

This must be remembered. But it should also be regarded as a certainty that the road we chose in order to strengthen our state, carry out essential reforms and adjust them during their practical implementation, and normalize our lives has turned out to be the correct one because there is clear progress. The Sejm elections alone illustrate this. Not so long ago we had martial law, and today we are submitting ourselves to public assessment by the whole of society.

This statement does not contradict the second one, which presents itself of its own accord: The favorable processes occurring in our country should be and can be strengthened.

Wierzcholski: So what is most important for our society concerning the liberation of its energy and capability, answering the challenge of the modern world's development and shaping a picture of the future?

Jablonski: I have in fact already partly answered this question; however, the answer should be augmented. Activity in this sphere will be necessary on several planes, both involving the whole of society and individual sectors of it. But there must be common honesty and truth everywhere and any coloring of reality must be avoided because such a method, as we have all convinced ourselves, may be effective in the short run but it paralyzes social energy in the end.

Our nation has proved its patriotism many times, especially during extreme situations and direct threats. This is evident to a much lesser extent in daily life concerning attitudes toward the state, public property, the law, and what may be generally called citizens culture. Nevertheless, a good perception of the current situation in the world must lead to the drawing of conclusions for the state authorities and for himself by every intelligent person, especially if he is a patriot.

We have paid dearly for the possibility of rebuilding our statehood. Therefore, today a firm stance has to be adopted toward everything that threatens and weakens it. Neither can anyone have any doubts that the adversary respects and the ally values only strong people. We may therefore arouse society's ambitions because after all we threaten no one by wanting to be strong. On the contrary -- we want to make the greatest possible contribution to the work of building a better tomorrow for mankind.

The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] election declaration clearly points out what weakens us and what may strengthen us. Therefore, there is no need to repeat all the guidelines contained in it. However, allow me to say a few words about two particular topics.

When discussing strategic problems determining the future of our economy, and hence the strength of our state, General Jaruzelski mentioned "ensuring a better connection along the science-industry line." This is obvious because there is a large technological gap between us and the highly developed countries, and this gap may widen unless we quickly apply remedial measures. An awareness of this should cause great ambitions on the part of the scientific community, encourage a hunger for innovation by engineering cadres, and lead to cooperation between scholars and practical workers. All these people must ask themselves: "Do we want to catch up with the best people, or do we want to lag further behind and allow the country's situation and society's standard of living to deteriorate?" On the other hand, it is the business of the state authorities to create the right conditions for these communities' ambitions to get the proper results.

Another example: Ecological topics keep reappearing during the preelection discussions. This is good because this is a very important issue for present and future generations. Let us therefore all possess the ambition to improve the situation, but when the only topic spoken about in this respect is large new investments, then we are on the wrong track. Large investments are essential, but they can only be implemented gradually. At the same time, one of the most distinguished specialists in this field has said during a conference organized by the State Council that we could reduce environmental danger by as much as 30 percent without any investment outlay if we only made correct use of existing possibilities and observed the rules in force. The conference also pointed out the relatively large number of cheap methods of protecting waters against pollution.

Let us, therefore, not merely demand great new undertakings from the government, but carry out a great universal mobilization in order to live under healthier, better, and more pleasant conditions, achieving the respect of our successors at the same time.

These are merely examples. A careful reading of the PRON election declaration will provide more.

Wierzcholski: In this context, what kind of prospects do you see for the young generation? Today, a large section of it, encumbered with difficulties, cannot find a place for itself, is trying to escape from reality, and is looking at its own future through dark glasses.

Jablonski: First, let us stop saying "young people are the future," because this is a truism. Instead, let us draw conclusions from the statement that young people are also present. In order to realize this it is enough to look how great its participation in production is. So let us not push young people into some artificial youth ghetto, and let their organizations not encourage this. We must implement the 1982 "Government Program on Improving Young People's Start in Social and Professional Life," containing 200 various immediate and long-term tasks until the year 1990, and at the same time include young people as broadly as possible in the solving of national problems, managing the country, and accepting responsibility for its present and future.

Young people generally do not like to return to matters that have already been settled and do not like listening to what their forebears have done. They even tend to diminish their achievements. There is certainly some truth in this because this phenomenon can be observed in other countries as well. So let us not bear any grudges against them on this account, but let us tell them instead: "Continue our work, show

what you can do, have the ambition to do more and do it better. You are better educated and better prepared; draw conclusions from this. Do not limit your proposals to youth affairs, but tackle more general problems because these determine the possibility of solving the affairs of your generation. Involve yourselves in the struggle against wrongdoing wherever you notice it." I do not think it is difficult to prove a strict correlation between the general state of construction and the solution for the young people's accommodation problem. And it is the same concerning many other nationwide affairs on the one side and local social or factory affairs on the other.

Of course, all of this cannot merely end in words. The deeds and conduct of older people must conform to these words. Then it will be easier for us to win over young people's energy for their own good.

From this point of view, looking for an example as the results of the people's council elections, I doubt whether everything possible has been done. In the primary-level peoples councils, we have today 24.8 percent of councillors aged up to 34. This is not a small amount, but perhaps there could be more of them to everyone's advantage. After all, it is there -- at the lowest level of authority -- that they should gain experience in jointly running the country. It is the same with workers councils in industrial enterprises.

Finally, a problem that I regard as particularly important. There is a need to seriously review educational methods in force. I would not like to speak out categorically on this subject because I know that the situation in the country in this respect varies. But it seems to me that there prevails a lack of appreciation for such essential tasks as developing imagination, establishing a hunger for education, and creating sensitivity toward innovation and the ability to think and act on one's own. For example, some higher educational institutions do not believe in involving young people in research at an early stage and presenting them with tasks of their own. Limiting their function to the pure performance of tasks, and purely ancillary ones, does not bring good results. This is why there is a great delay in young people's independent achievements; why their ambitions, without which there is no scientific development, are weakened; why individual stages in education are prolonged; and why the best stage, in which a scholar possesses maximum creativity, is wasted. I feel sorry for many of these young scientists when I compare their situation with that of my generation, when some people quickly fell out and others rapidly advanced.

If all this were to be considered, perhaps our young people would get rid of their dark glasses more easily.

Wierzcholski: It is said that a politician is answerable both to the present and to history. Does political responsibility involve concepts that are identical, or ones that are different? How should they be construed at the present time?

Jablonski: They are different concepts, of course. Political responsibility usually applies to one single period in a politician's life or to some specific actions, and smacks of a rapid drawing of conclusions. These are the requirements of political life. When assessing some politician, the historian weighs his entire activity and all stages in his life, and tries, or at least should try, to work out a balanced judgment that is not burdened with current disputes, though he must take these into account.

In any case, this not only happens when a historian is writing the politicians' biography years later, it often happens very early, even immediately after his death.

PZPR'S BARCIKOWSKI INTERVIEWED ON 1980 CRISIS

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[Interview with PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski by Boguslaw Morawski -- date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction; uppercase passages published in boldface]

[Text] It has been 5 years since the wave of August strikes in Poland. At that time the working class was protesting against distortions in socialism. The agreements then signed were the beginning of a difficult but necessary political, social, and economic process that was given the general term of socialist renewal. Politburo member and Central Committee secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski, who took part in these events and coauthored the Szczecin agreements, is interviewed by Boguslaw Morawski.

[Morawski] Five years ago, as deputy premier, you negotiated an agreement -- later to be signed -- with representatives of the striking Szczecin workers. Your signature appears on that document. Did you realize at the time that you were taking part in an event that was to become a watershed for all of us, that you were creating facts that would initiate an extensive and consequential process in the life of the whole society and state?

[Barcikowski] After 5 years a man could claim that he knew that he actually did not know at the time but does know today. Today it is not easy to see the dividing line. I was once asked how it felt to play the role of a representative of the working people's party and the working people's government while taking a stand against the workers. I answered then that I did not feel I was taking a stand against anyone, especially not against the workers, but that I DID FEEL I ACTED AS SPOKESMAN FOR THE RIGHT REASONS, REASONS THAT WERE THE SAME AS THOSE OF MY INTERLOCUTORS', except that I did not know whether they were aware of them at the time. IT WAS FOR THOSE VERY REASONS, FOR STATE, GENERAL, AND SOCIALIST REASONS, THAT I HELD TALKS WITH THEM.

You are asking, comrade, whether I knew. I think I have a certain sense of history. I do not wish to sound conceited, but I am a historian by preference, and a public activist by temperament and home background. All my life I have tried to follow the path of accumulating experience and knowledge about people, their past, and our Polish past. I believe it is due to this that I have developed a certain skill in reading the situations in which I am a participant. I also believe that I can view current events in the perspective of the past, the present, and the immediate future. In Dzczecin I knew that we were dealing with momentous matters. I knew that the future was going to be different in Poland. I certainly did not know what it would be like down to the last detail. When I think about it now, I can compare myself to a man peering through mist, who can distinguish clearly the outlines of a number of things, along with certain details, but who cannot see everything.

I did, however, see one thing clearly: THAT IN THE MID-1970'S OUR STATE WAS HANDICAPPED BY THE ABSENCE OF PEOPLE WHO COULD PARTICIPATE IN THE EXERCISE OF POWER. BY PEOPLE I MEAN THE BROADEST RANKS OF SOCIAL REPRESENTATIVES OF DIFFERENT CLASSES, STRATA, AND PROFESSIONAL GROUPS. IN THOSE YEARS A LOT OF DAMAGE WAS DONE TO VARIOUS FORMS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT. Try to remember that period. THE PREMIER WAS IMPORTANT, AS WERE THE VOIVODAS, BUT SOMEWHERE ALONG THE LINE WE LOST SIGHT OF PEOPLE'S COUNCILS AND SELF-GOVERNING BODIES. THEY ALL SIMPLY CEASED TO HAVE ANY IMPORTANCE. IN OTHER WORDS, THE AUTHORITIES LOST THEIR BROAD SOCIAL BASE. THEY LOST THAT WHICH PROVIDES THEIR SOURCE, POWER, AND BACKING: THEIR SOCIAL SUPPORT. At that time I kept saying, unequivocally and very clearly, that the existence of an authority that would be socially accepted and at the same time capable of effective action depended upon the creation of the state's broad social base.

THAT WAS WHAT I KNEW AT THE TIME. How did I know it? I knew clearly and distinctly because I was facing people who believed that they represented their fellow workers, factually and formally. They held their mandate. Our talks were conducted at the shipyard, but representatives from many different plants and factories in Szczecin and the whole region were also taking part. What was it that became apparent then; what did I find so striking? The fact that WE FOUND IT VERY DIFFICULT TO TALK IN A COMMON IDIOM ABOUT EVEN THE MOST OBVIOUS THINGS. For example, if we did not produce something ourselves, we would not have it. You could see there, with microscopic precision, people's set beliefs about the omnipotence of the all-powerful authorities: "They would give us things if they wanted to; and shortages exist because they do not want to and they will not deliver."

Every time I took the floor in Szczecin -- and I was thus interrogated 9 or 10 times in front of the whole audience -- meant making enormous efforts to demonstrate to my interlocutors what I later spelled out for them in my conclusion: the need to respect and obey the laws of economics, the need to create new values if we want to consume more, and the need to consolidate and respect our state. It was because of this difficult experience -- for it was very difficult to find a common idiom -- that I became more and more convinced that only through universal public participation in the running of each parish, factory, school, college, and every single place where people live and work could they have a sense of civic responsibility, the awareness of what is and is not possible to achieve, what is a dream and what is an illusion, how to separate illusion from reality, and how to proceed sensibly toward improving the quality of life and reforming state structures.

[Morawski] Comrade Secretary, were the attitudes of the strike leaders, those attitudes hostile to the party and to socialism which were to become so pronounced later, already apparent during your talks? Was the work of the KOR [Workers' Defense Committee] already obvious then?

[Barcikowski] YOU MUST REMEMBER THAT WE WERE DEALING WITH A PROFOUND SOCIAL CONFLICT. IN SUCH SITUATIONS IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THERE ARE BOUND TO BE CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES, APPROACHES, AND WAYS OF VIEWING PUBLIC AFFAIRS. THEY WERE ALL QUITE CONSIDERABLE AND ACUTE AT THAT TIME. ONE COULD SENSE HOSTILITY TOWARD THE AUTHORITIES ON THE PART OF SOME STRIKING WORKERS. SINCE, AS HEAD OF A GOVERNMENT COMMISSION, I WAS REPRESENTING THE AUTHORITIES, THE HOSTILITY, UNDERSTANDABLY, CENTERED ON ME. I COULD FEEL IT CLEARLY. IT WAS A VERY UNPLEASANT FEELING. I WOULD NOT WISH SUCH AN EXPERIENCE ON ANYONE. THE WAY QUESTIONS WERE PUT TO ME, THE WAY I WAS BEING DRIVEN INTO TIGHT CORNERS -- ALL THAT WAS DONE FOR MANY REASONS.

Would I associate all that with KOR activists? It is hard to say. Today perhaps I would. But then? Then, the strike leaders went to great lengths to repudiate any possible accusations of their maintaining connections with the KOR, or any possible accusations of direct associations with bourgeois press in the West and indirect associations with political centers hostile to Poland. I remember that one Swedish man who was hanging around us -- not by accident, either -- taking photographs, had his film confiscated by the strike security men assigned to accompany me. Such offenders were handed over to the militia, and I was duly informed of all such incidents. I MUST STRESS THAT IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT A LOT OF CARE WAS TAKEN IN SZCZECIN DURING THE STRIKE AND THE TALKS TO PREVENT EVENTS FROM ASSUMING AN OVERTLY POLITICAL CHARACTER. STEPS WERE ALSO TAKEN TO ENSURE THAT THE CONFLICT THEN TAKING PLACE WOULD BE CONFINED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF SOCIALISM.

[Morawski] Hence the memorable slogan: "Socialism -- yes. Distortions -- no!"

[Barcikowski] Yes. The slogan was coined in Szczecin, if I remember correctly. Later, however, events gained a different momentum and took a different turn.

[Morawski] The signing of the agreements filled us all with a sense of relief, joy, and the hope that since we had at last come to an understanding we would henceforth continue to conduct a permanent dialogue and everything would be "downhill" from there. However, it soon became obvious that this was only a grand illusion. We failed to realize that progress can be achieved only through unrelenting work and struggle -- in the broadest sense of the word -- to correct all that is wrong with ourselves, our society, and the structures of our public life. Is that correct?

[Barcikowski] To answer such a complex question one must first remember that social processes that exist within both progress and conflict are very complex and entangled. When I was entering the shipyard for the first time, I was greeted with hostile shouting. I will not deny that I felt very hurt by it. However, after the agreement was signed the people of Szczecin who had kept vigil under the shipyard gates greeted me with a storm of applause. There is not a single activist involved in social or state affairs who would fail to feel pleased when faced with such evidence of approval, acceptance, and even affection after an important event into which he has put a lot of creative effort. It is a very natural human reaction.

EVERYONE WAS RELIEVED AT THE FINALE WHICH TOOK PLACE OVER THE LAST DAYS OF AUGUST. PEOPLE BELIEVED THAT FROM THAT MOMENT ON WE WOULD BEGIN TO OVERCOME ALL THAT WAS BAD AND TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE NEW CHANCE ARISING FROM THE SOCIALIST AWAKENING THAT WOULD ACT FROM THEN ON AS A POSITIVE STIMULANT FOR THE WHOLE PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT.

LATER, THOSE EXPECTATIONS AND HOPES BECAME DISTORTED. AND THAT WAS ALREADY DUE TO HOSTILE FORCES INSINUATING THEMSELVES INTO THE TRANSFORMATIONS THAT WERE TAKING PLACE. It is a saddening thought that entire leading social groups had so lost their sense of reality...

[Morawski] ...and responsibility...

[Barcikowski] ...and responsibility that could have prevented them from being led by the nose by all that demagoguery. All those who had allowed themselves to be taken in then must be feeling quite ashamed of it today. They must be ashamed of having believed in anything so naive, superficial, primitive, and at times even vulgar. They were walking toward the brink of the precipice...I do not want to dwell on the embarrassing scenes in which certain outstanding intellectuals went...how should I put it...

[Morawski] ...went on their knees before some of the leaders...

[Barcikowski] It is so sad and at the same time so embarrassing that one feels ashamed even to talk about it. The things that took place then can only be explained by the presence of a high degree of emotional tension accompanied by the inability to think in a rational manner and thereby control one's emotions.

[Morawski] Comrade secretary, could you have foreseen, in your most pessimistic moments, that such a profound distortion, such a deviation from the course of renewal would develop?

[Barcikowski] I KNEW THAT WE WERE GOING TO BE FACED WITH DIFFICULT TIMES, AND THAT CONSIDERABLE PROBLEMS WOULD ARISE BEFORE US. I also knew that it would not be possible to emerge from that multitude of conflicts without a clash. BUT I WAS LOOKING INTO THE FUTURE WITH OPTIMISM. THE SOURCE OF MY OPTIMISM WAS MY OBSERVATION OF THAT GREAT SOCIAL AWAKENING, THAT EXPLOSION OF HUMAN ENERGY, AND THE SUM OF HUMAN ASPIRATIONS. I BELIEVED THEN THAT OUR PARTY WAS CAPABLE AND ACTIVE ENOUGH TO DIRECT THE NASCENT MOVEMENT AND TO CHANNEL THE NEWLY-RELEASED SOCIAL ENERGY INTO A COURSE THAT WOULD GUARANTEE A CONSOLIDATION OF TRULY SOCIALIST RELATIONS WITHIN SOCIETY. My mistake consisted mainly in overestimating the capability of our party to act effectively.

[Morawski] You mean at that time?

[Barcikowski] Yes. Of course. But at the same time I must say that A PARTICULARLY DEVIOUS AND INSIDIOUS GAME WAS BEING PLAYED WITH THE PARTY AT THAT TIME. Attempts were made, by attacking certain persons in our ranks for various imagined or factual malpractice, at dispossessing the party of its moral mandate. You know, comrade, those "investigation cases," as I call them, of who stole how much, were in themselves unimportant. Those guilty of errors and malpractice had, of course, to be called to account and called to account they were. BUT THE ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM -- WHO AT THAT TIME HAD NOT YET REVEALED THEIR TRUE INTENTIONS -- WERE CONCERNED WITH SOMETHING BIGGER: SLINGING MUD AT THE PARTY AND DISPOSSESSING IT OF ITS MORAL RIGHT TO IDEOLOGICAL LEADERSHIP. I must frankly admit that I did not fully appreciate this new, and extremely destructive factor at the time. I think that was because I had more faith than distrust in people, and in their individual and collective good sense. I also think -- considering the experience which we are just now discussing -- that we tend to underestimate...

[Morawski] ...the adversary.

[Barcikowski] No. That is not what I meant. We tend to underestimate the irrational factor, or irrational element, that emerges in people in defiance of everything that is objective, just, and rational. We were brought up on economics, statistics, sociology, and politics, and we feel comfortable within that sphere of the objective. But we are still giving too little thought to the processes concerning the sphere of the subjective, the -- so to speak -- spiritual. This, however, is another problem, belonging to the field of social psychology, and we are not going to sort it out today.

[Morawski] Comrade Secretary, did you not -- in connection with those unpleasant experiences -- develop a feeling of bitterness and disappointment, leading to the belief that the struggle for an agreement, that struggle which at times resembled a scuffle, would not, for the time being, bring any results?

[Barcikowski] You have touched upon a very difficult issue. Yes, there was at times a sense of disappointment, bitterness, and injustice which arose from having to face groundless accusations. All that was mixed with a feeling of profound amazement at the sudden emergence of so much irrational behavior, groundless faith in senseless slogans, and so many myths.

ONE LIVED AND WORKED WITH A CONSTANT SENSE OF AN OVERWHELMING BURDEN OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN, FOR WHAT WOULD BE BOUND TO HAPPEN IF THINGS WERE TO CONTINUE ALONG THE SAME LINES. ONE WAS HAUNTED BY THE QUESTION OF WHAT WAS TO BECOME OF THE PEOPLE, THE COUNTRY, THE PARTY, AND STATE. There were millions of people who had already reached adulthood but who were still quite immature and did not understand the threat of the black clouds that were gathering. They did not realize the extent of the danger.

There was one incident I will never forget. I came to Szczecin in the wake of momentous and profoundly dramatic events. During a meeting I spoke about our situation and about the things that could happen to us. After all, we were at that time teetering on the brink of a precipice. One young man interrupted me and started to shout: "What? Are you threatening us?" That was the one and only time in my life when I felt like smashing someone's face in. But perhaps you should not write about this. Ah, well, we had such a wealth of "heroes".

[Morawski] Your final address in Szczecin, delivered on the day of the signing of the agreement and concerning questions of state and statehood consciousness, will enter anthologies of political speeches. Did you prepare it beforehand down to the last detail or did you speak straight from the heart, inspired by the exigencies of the moment?

[Barcikowski] Your assessment is very high. There was not enough time to think it out in advance. There was not time to prepare that speech as one prepared material for publication. We concluded our talks at around 2 o'clock in the morning. We then brushed up the final version of the document, looking in detail at some individual points. Then I went to my quarters at the voivodship committee building, as that was where I was staying. I spoke briefly with my comrades, and took a short nap, as we had agreed to meet early in the morning for the official signing of the document. Immediately afterwards I had to leave for Warsaw, for a Central Committee session. I did not even have time to shave.

In the formal sense of the word my address was not prepared in advance. In actual fact, it emerged as a logical result of everything I had thought about and experienced during those 9 or 10 sessions -- each of them lasting for many hours -- in the great hall at the shipyard. After all, those were difficult talks, hard disputes, and sharp clashes that took place there. I do not take kindly to people trying to trample all over me, and when I am attacked, I retaliate. I applied that method at that time too. I have always believed, and I still do, that it is better to be frank and open rather than vague in an argument. In the clashes we were having, I had to take everything that was worrying my interlocutors, their real and imagined, conscious and subconscious anxieties into consideration. All that eventually found its expression in my address. And that is how it was.

[Morawski] Let me return once again to your final address in Szczecin -- an important and famous address, universally known and interpreted by political scientists as well as by ordinary people in every household. You talked about three conditions that were all-important for Poland and for Poles: mutual agreement as a form of social coexistence, work as the foundation of our existence, and the state's strength, without which every nation is bound to fall into decline. Would you add any new elements to it today? I am asking this because, although we are talking about things which took place 5 years ago, we are in fact previewing what is going to happen in 5 or 50 years' time.

[Barcikowski] Why, will those three things not do? Today I would add only one more condition to them: THAT THE POLISH PEOPLE START BELIEVING IN THEMSELVES. THEY SHOULD BELIEVE IN REAL, AND NOT IMAGINED, POSSIBILITIES. THEY SHOULD BEGIN TO ACT IN THE CONVICTION THAT POLAND IS BEING BUILT HERE AND NOW, AND THAT IT WILL BECOME WHAT WE MAKE IT. I am not saying anything new here, but these things need to be brought to our attention again since it is so difficult to speak the same language on questions that are so patently obvious.

I believe, comrade, that THE THING THAT DRAGS US DOWN MOST IS THE FACT THAT WE HAVE BEEN ALL TOO READY TO ACCEPT THAT WE ARE GOING THROUGH A CRISIS -- A CRISIS WHICH HAS, SO TO SPEAK, PERMEATED US AND ALL OUR THINKING. It is a very peculiar crisis. When one travels around Poland, including Kielce, one notices that people are building new houses like... well, I will refrain from making comparisons. There are not a lot of old houses left in rural areas any more. Almost everything is new. People stand in line to buy cars, or other luxuries, and they travel all over the world. This year we are going to have a record number of people taking trips abroad. Whenever I arrive in one of those wealthy villages, or in one of those towns that have changed so much in the past few years, everyone begins by mentioning the crisis. Well, let them have their say! But if the crisis is really here, then how can we overcome it? We can do so only by hard work and the strong conviction that we really do want to overcome it. IF WE START TAKING THE CRISIS FOR GRANTED, SEEING IT AS A NATURAL ELEMENT IN OUR LIFE, WE WILL RENDER OURSELVES POWERLESS FOREVER. There is just one thing we need: the firm conviction that we can change our low status through the application of rational effort. Our civilization has not developed any other methods; thus, there can be no other way out.

[Morawski] Now for my last question, Comrade Secretary. What do you remember most vividly and what will you remember always out of those events of 5 years ago? What would you want to pass on to your grandchildren from your own personal experience?

[Barcikowski] This question encourages one to reflect and return to the beginning of our conversation, to your first question of whether we realized 5 years ago that a lot would have to change, and on what premises we were basing that conviction.

LET US TAKE A LOOK AROUND US AND SEE HOW MANY NEW THINGS HAVE HAPPENED IN POLAND SINCE THEN. NOTICE HOW DIFFERENT THE SEJM IS IN THE DISCHARGE OF ITS DUTIES. AND WHAT OF THE GOVERNMENT? WE WOULD RUN OUT OF TIME IF WE TRIED TO LIST EVERYTHING THAT HAS CHANGED IN ITS WORK, AND IN THE WORK OF ITS INDIVIDUAL DEPARTMENTS. THE EXTENSIVE AND DEEP-REACHING CHANGES WITHIN THE PARTY COULD FILL AN ENTIRE CHAPTER.

Take workers councils in enterprises: Are people really aware of what unprecedented innovations these are? Through them, more than 140,000 people participate today in decisionmaking processes at their workplaces. Where and when did we ever have so many people involved in making joint decisions on how to run their enterprises? Someone might say that their effectiveness varies. How could it be otherwise? It must vary, since the degree of people's civic involvement and their ability to act for the good of society also varies from place to place. Besides, this is only the beginning! Could it be any different?

Let us now take a look at people's councils and local self-governing bodies. More than 400,000 people are really and truly involved in the exercise of power. Again, someone might say that sometimes this works and sometimes it does not. It is bound to be so, since here again we have the mere beginnings of an authentic method of self-government.

AN ENCOURAGING AND STABLE SOCIALIST STATE MUST RELY ON ITS PEOPLE FOR SUPPORT. JUST AS A TREE ANCHORS ITS ROOTS IN THE SOIL AND DRAWS ITS NOURISHMENT FROM IT, SO A STATE -- ITS EXISTENCE BEING ESSENTIAL FOR THE EXISTENCE OF A NATION -- MUST ANCHOR ITS ROOTS IN THE PEOPLE. THEY ARE THE BASE AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE STATE, AND THEY ARE THE DEPOSITARIES OF THE VALUES THAT STRENGTHEN IT.

[Morawski] A debate on an article of mine entitled "I am the State, Too" is currently taking place in the columns of our paper. Through it, we want to make people consciously reflect on the following issues: what each of us can do to benefit the state; how to augment the state's wealth, help it to run more effectively, and promote its modernization; and finally, how we weaken the state by everything unethical, reactionary, selfish, and licentious that is in us.

[Barcikowski] Yes, since many of our fellow citizens still need to be persuaded that they, that we all, need a strong state. THERE IS A TRADITION, EMBEDDED IN OUR COLLECTIVE SENSE OF NATIONAL HISTORY SURFACING EVERY NOW AND THEN, OF A WEAK, PERMISSIVE STATE THAT LETS ITS CITIZENS GET AWAY WITH ANYTHING. IT WAS THAT WEAK STATE THAT WAS THE CAUSE OF OUR DOWNFALL, OUR LOSS OF INDEPENDENCE, AND -- RECENTLY -- OF OUR CONFLICTS AND CRISES. I OFTEN ASK MYSELF: HOW MANY POLES TODAY BELIEVE WITH THEIR STRONGEST CONVICTION THAT WHETHER WE SINK OR SWIM DEPENDS ON WHETHER OUR STATE IS STRONG?

Various leaders and ideologists of the opposition who drive people to underground activity; prey on young people's sense of the romantic; encourage anarchy, street demonstrations, and strikes; and work at a snail's pace are committing treason against Poland. Treason against one's own homeland has always been regarded by our nation as the ultimate ignominy. We should be reminding them of this loudly and clearly.

What they do brings harm to the state, to each of us, and to Poland. Let us also say, since we have already spoken that sinister word treason, that the enemies of socialism benefit by the harm those people do to society. Let us also say that appeals addressed to the public by opposition leaders are really and truly harmful to society while benefiting those who oppose socialist Poland.

IT IS A PITY THAT A WARNING AGAINST THE REPETITION OF OLD MISTAKES THAT ARE HARMFUL TO THE STATE SOUNDS SO FAINT FROM THOSE WHO CALL THEMSELVES THE MORAL AUTHORITY FOR ALL POLES AND FROM THOSE WHOM, ON ACCOUNT OF THEIR LEARNING, WE CALL THE MOLDERS OF PUBLIC OPINION. They are often more quick to blame the authorities for the sins which they have and have not committed than to openly take a stand, prompted by wisdom and prudence, on everything that can become a real danger for us all as a result of those appeals to act against constitutional principles, the law, and the state.

MUST EACH NEW GENERATION OF POLES REPEAT THE SAME LESSON INSTEAD OF LEARNING FROM THE TEACHING OF HISTORY?

[Morawski] The conclusion of this interview should be individually drawn by everyone through the answering of the questions which have been asked here. Thank you for the interview, Comrade Secretary.

JARUZELSKI VISITS UN; CALLS FOR UN CONSOLIDATION

LD250734 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 25 Sep 85

[Text] New York -- Wojciech Jaruzelski, after his arrival in New York, said that his stay at the United Nations will provide an opportunity for bilateral meetings and there will be very many of them. He expressed his hope that coverage by U.S. mass media of his stay will be objective.

Poland, which is one of the 159 member-states and co-hosts of the United Nations Organization, wants the consolidation of this important and indispensable organization for the whole system of the United Nations. It is desirable that the United Nations energetically tackle the problems of the present day world.

General Wojciech Jaruzelski, who arrived in New York this morning at 2 o'clock, is staying at the headquarters of the Polish UN representation.

GORYWODA ADDRESSES PLANNING COMMISSION MEETING

AU232047 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Sep 85 pp 1-2

[Excerpts] PAP -- A preliminary program of structural changes to the national economy and associated problems of controlling investments until 1990 was the topic of the second plenary session of the Council of Ministers Planning Commission.

The need for these structural changes stems from the national economy's basic weaknesses, including excessive energy and materials consumption, inadequate exports capability, profound disproportions in production potential, and a technological gap in relation to the rest of the world.

The program envisages essential changes in our economy by the following means:

-- accelerated development of some industrial branches and groups of commodities by granting them more favorable conditions, and

-- selected undertakings initated by the economic center (according to current proposals, the list of these contains 42 positions), especially investment undertakings that will supply the economy with efficient tehcnologies, materials, and general-purpose machinery and equipment.

Summing up the talks, Deputy Premier Manfred Gorywoda, the commission's chairman, said that the rich and lively discussion had confirmed the general correctness of the program's concept. In accordance with economic conditions and economic development requirements, this program involves concrete undertakings and activities which may, in thenear future, cause a reduction in material and energy consumption during production, increased exports, and a modernization of the economy.

He stressed that the structural changes in the economy will be based on economic reform. This means that credits, taxation, and currency exchange policy will be the basic instruments of influence by the ecconomic center.

KISZCZAK ON LAW, ORDER MEETING; HOUSING CONTROL

AU232058 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21-22 Sep 85 pp 1-2

[Excerpts] -- A meeting of the PZPR Law and Order Commission under the chairmanship of General of Arms Czeslaw Kiszczak, minister of internal affairs and PZPR Politburo candidate member, was held on 20 September.

General Kiszczak, a Sejm election candidate on the national electoral list, stressed that both subjects for discussion at the commission meeting were connected with the suggestions and demands made most often at preelection meetings. Law and order problems, raising the level of legal and civic knowledge, respect for the law, the housing policy, and the allocation of completed apartments in accordance with principles of social justice, were all matters of great political and social importance to the working people, the future voters. This opinion is shared by the party leadership. It has devoted and continues to devote much attention to these problems in the belief that the party must triumph in the battle against crime.

It was pointed out at the meeting that the education process must begin at a very early age. The first stage of inculcating law observance is the teaching of the norms of socialist community life. A carefully thought out program of legal education has been devised. Its success will depend on whether the law, which is the same for everyone, will be enforced by everyone. The education process must take into account the special responsibility for the proper functioning of the law which rests with those whose job it is to apply it.

The commission was positive in its appraisal of the time frame for the implementation of the legal education program.

T. Hupalowski, chairman of the Supreme Control Chamber, then presented the preliminary results of a national control program on the allocation of housing in the first half of 1985, conducted by the Worker's and Peasants' Inspectorate. A total of 56,000 apartments were allocated in the entire country; the inspectorate examined the allocation of 33,700 apartments. During the course of the program, about 500 inspectors made thousands of visits to the homes of complainants. It was established that many irregularities had occurred, and the first postcontrol suggestions, some pertaining to cadres, have already been acted upon.

In a brief summing up General Kiszczak said that the housing control, the first to have been so extensive, had provided the mass of social activists in the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate with a form of practical training.

Many concrete suggestions have emerged from the control activities. Among them are: the need to amend housing law, the need to act on the principle that a citizen can have only one home, and the duty to make of property which is standing empty. The social standing of commissions that consider decisions on the allocation of housing must also be raised, and housing affairs, which engender so many social reservations and rebukes, must be continually regulated.

MESSNER BRIEFED ON HUNGARIAN ECONOMIC REFORM

AU231526 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21-22 Sep 85 pp 1,7

[Text] Before leaving for Warsaw, Deputy Premier Messner made a statement to correspondents from TRYBUNA LUDU and PAP.

"The main purpose of my short working visit to Hungary was to familiarize myself more closely with the Hungarian experience of implementing economic reform and changes in economy mangagement. Our economies do differ, of course, and conditions for economic reform in both countries are also different. Nevertheless, there are certain common elements and a mutual exchange of experiences is very useful.

I am particularly interested in the question of pay, and the creation of an incentive system which would encourage greater productivity without disturbing market equilibrium.

I had an opportunity to discuss this subject with outstanding Hungarian economists. I familiarized myself with problems of this nature in two large enterprises. We both believe that economic reform is not an end in itself, but must serve to improve economic efficiency.

We also discussed questions related to the economic integration of socialist countries, and how to bring about even closer cooperation, both bilateral and broadly conceived, within the framework of CEMA.

My host, Deputy Premier Jozsef Marjai, and I also discussed economic reform, Hungarian-Polish cooperation in various areas, and prospects for its further development.

PEASANT MOVEMENT CELEBRATES 90th ANNIVERSARY

Officials Attend Celebrations

LD221901 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 22 Sep 85

[Text] The peasant movement is celebrating the 90th anniversary of its organized, political activity on Polish territory. The main celebrations of this occasion were held in Warsaw. The main event was a great peasant rally on Trzech Kryzyz Square, during which a monument to Wincenty Witos, outstanding leader of the peasant movement and statesman, was unveiled. Deputy Premier Roman Malinowski, chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee, who was present at the ceremony, stated in his speech that Wincenty Witos is inseparably linked with the traditions of Polish parliamentarism. It was in the Sejm building, located nearby, where his unusual political talent was fully revealed.

In an appeal by the rally participants, which was read out during the ceremony, it was stated among other things that the good of the nation and the people's Polish state was, is, and will be the highest value for everyone. Participants affirmed that they would not spare efforts or work, and they would even, if necessary, make the ultimate sacrifice for the good of the socialist homeland, the PPR.

Representatives of party and state authorities, including i.a. Henryk Jablonski, Roman Malinowski, Jan Dobraczynski, Kazimierz Barcikowski, Stanislaw Gucwa, foreign delegations and hosts, and residents of the capital took part in the ceremony. Next, the participants in the rally went to Victory Square to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

Tasks Discussed

LD232156 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Sep 85

[Text] Historical experience of peasant movements and their tasks arising from the present-day challenges are being discussed at an international meeting of peasant parties and organizations that has been organized in Waraaw on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of the peasant movement in Poland. The achievements of the Polish peasant movement so far were presented by Roman Malinowski. He described tasks against the background of the international situation, which, in his opinion, are being faced by peasant parties and organizations in their struggle for peace, the halting of the arms race, and peaceful economic cooperation without restrictions and discrimination.

Ernest Kucza, deputy minister of foreign affairs, spoke about the main directions of Polish foreign policy. He emphasized that the unending work for peace and detente is the result of this policy. The historical experiences, particularly the tragic effects of World War II and Hitler's occupation, have resulted in the fact that peace has a special value to Poles, and the need for its consolidation and defense is deeply rooted in the social conscousness.

Referring to the current international situation, Ernest Kucza said that Poland fully shares the USSR's stand, as presented by Mikhail Gorbachev in his interview with TIME. This stand, he said, is a clear expression of responsibility for the fate of the whole world.

Next, representatives of individual foreign delegations presented their countries' experiences in solving socioeconomic problems, emphasizing at the same time the need to halt the arms race and defend world peace.

Bulgaria's Tanchev Speaks

AU240900 Sofia BTA in English 0720 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Text] Warsaw, September 24 (BTA) -- Mr. Peter Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and first vice president of the State Council of Bulgaria, made a speech yesterday at the international meeting of the peasants' parties and organisations held here.

In his speech Mr. Peter Tanchev said that in the life span of a single generation Poland has entered a new age. I turned into a state with a highly developed industry, science and culture, with impressive potentials and with wide possibilities for the flourishing of the techno-scientific revolution, for an all-round upsurge, and for the raising of its role in international relations. Poland firmly stands on the positions of socialism and is a sound link of the socialist community.

Mr. Peter Tanchev pointed out that the faithful ally of the Polish United Workers' Party, has also greatly contributed to scoring these noteworthy results of international importance. Without reserve and boldly it stood in the ranks of those, who defended to road to the strengthening and the upsurge of Poland and to its firm consolidation on the positions of socialism, the speaker said.

Dwelling on Bulgaro-Polish relations, he pointed out that they have reached unprecedented peaks. The first party and state leaders of the two countries, Mr. Todor Zhivkov and Mr. Wojciech Jaruzelski, have made a historic contribution to this, Mr. Peter Tanchev said. He stressed that the traditional contacts between the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the United Peasants' Party of Poland also actively contribute to the maintaining of excellent relations. The two parties are united by common aims and ideals, by their inviolable friendship with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, and by their joint efforts to defend and consolidate peace, Mr. Peter Tanchev said.

Mr. Peter Tanchev stressed that the consistent peaceful policy of Bulgaria is inspired by the principles and ideas of understanding and cooperation in the world, in Europe and in the Balkans. Mr. Todor Zhivkov's idea to turn the Balkans into a nuclear-weapon-free zone enjoys wide public support. Goodneighbourliness and the nuclear-weapon-free zones, which is enjoying an ever growing support. Today in Europe we speak of nuclear-free zones in Scandinavia, in the Balkans, in central Europe and for turning all of Europe into a nuclear-weapon-free zone, Mr. Peter Tanchev said. He also pointed to Bulgaria's full and unreserved support for the peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union, of the socialist community and for the latest ideas and proposals of Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev.

In his speech Mr. Peter Tanchev also spoke of the active international work of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party, which has established contacts with more than 120 agrarian and other democratic parties and organisations and which is taking an active part in the international democratic agrarian movement and in its forums, in collective initiatives of the peasants' parties and organisations in support of the struggle for peace and detente. The Bulgarian Agrarian Party has initiated and hosted three world forums of the democratic agrarian movement in Sofia -- the largest, the most prestigious and widely-represented in its history, in which more than 100 parties and other political organisations took part, Mr. Peter Tanchev said. By way of conclusion he stressed the contribution and the role in the struggle for peace of a wide range of democratic parties and organisations -- social democratic, agrarian, centre, left radical, liberal, many of which are represented at the meeting in Warsaw.

Conference Concludes

LD241459 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Text] The world does not need star wars; what humanity needs is a fight against hunger. This statement concluded the international meeting of peasant parties and organizations in Warsaw, which was attended by delegations from 30 states. The subject of debate was the historic experiences of peasant movements and their contemporary tasks. In a final declaration, participants in the meeting called on all parties and organizations in the world to move toward a departure from the policies of confrontation and the arms race and to promote a return to detente and cooperation. The idea of creating non-nuclear zones including central Europe, Scandinavia, and the Balkans peninsula was supported. During a press conference, a delegation member stressed that the achievement of the Warsaw deliberations increases the contribution by peasant and allied parties to the causes of detente, dialogue, and consolidation of peace.

COLD SEASON COAL STOCK 'STRICTLY ESTABLISHED'

AU241917 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian of 19, 20, 21 and 22 September carries on page 3 in each issue articles of 2,000 to 2,800 words, all of which are entitled: "Energy -- a Problem of Maximum Importance and a Concern of Maximum Responsibility." The authors for the article on the 19th are given as Ion Teodor, Nicolae Babalau, and Gheorghe Balta; for the 20th as Ion Teodor, Sabin Cerbu, Ioan Lazar, and Ion Manea; for the 21st as Vlaicu Radu and Dumitru Pruna; and for the 22d as Ion Teodor.

In the articles of 19 and 20 September on "How Thermal Plants are Being Prepared for the Cold Season," the authors deal with coal stocks in a number of thermal power plants stressing that "the amounts of coal needed to ensure proper coal supplies and the operation of energy units throughout the cold season have been strictly established for each thermal power plant." The situation of coal stocks in the thermal power plants in question is given as follows (in thousand metric tons):

Thermal Power Plant	Planned Stock	Existing Stock
Isalnita	1,150	1,005
Rovinari	1,000	962
Turceni	850	763
Oradea	200	168
Doicesti	600	289
Mintia	350	256
Onesti	200	161
Giurgiu	150	120
Zalau	90	134
Other units	910	174
Total	5,500	4,032

The article on 21 September deals with the quality of coal stressing that "more and better coal is necessary for thermal power plants," that through organizational measures one should "avoid the depreciation of the quality of coal by storing it for a long period of time in mining units," and that a continuous flow between mining and transportation should be ensured.

Ion Teodor's article on 22 September deals with the "response of the units discussed in this SCINTEIA investigation on how to ensure coal stocks." On the basis of this investigation, he draws the following conclusions:

-- monthly coal deliveries from mining units to thermal power plants should take place more effectively and concluded contracts should be observed to a greater extent;

-- the stage of investment projects at new thermal power plants should be examined and action should be taken to ensure the planned coal stocks.

CUBAN FOREIGN TRADE MINISTER CABRISAS VISITS

FL241945 Havana Television Service in Spanish 1700 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Text] Cuban Foreign Trade Minister Ricardo Cabrisas today arrived in Bucharest, Romania to explore possibilities of bilateral trade between the two countries. The Cuban leader was received at the Otopeni Airport by Romania's Foreign Trade Vice Minister Ion Stanciu.

GIOSAN RECEIVED BY AUSTRIA'S KIRCHSCHLAEGER

AU201813 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1745 GMT 20 Sep 85

[Text] Vienna AGERPRES 20/9/1985 -- Messages of salute were exchanged in Vienna between President Nicolae Ceausescu, Mme Elena Ceausescu and Federal President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger, Mme Kirchschlaeger during the reception by the federal president of Austria of a Romanian parliamentary delegation led by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, now on an official visit of friendship to that country.

The federal president of Austria was highly appreciative of the home and foreign policy actively and consistently promoted by President Nicolae Ceausescu for the peaceful development of the Romanian people, the establishment of a lasting peace in Europe and the world over, for international understanding, cooperation and detente. He recalled his interviews with President Nicolae Ceausescu in Bucharest and Vienna, with emphasis on the decisive role of the summit dialogue in the ascending course of friendly cooperative ties between the two countries and peoples.

GIOSAN, GDR'S SINDERMANN DISCUSS PEACE EFFORTS

LD232215 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1917 GMT 23 Sep 85

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Sep (ADN) -- Today there is no more important task than the ending of the arms race, the transition to disarmament, especially in nuclear weapons, and the prevention of the militerization of space. The danger of a nuclear catastrophe must be banished and peace on earth and in space protected. This was stated by GDR People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly of Romania, candidate member of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo during a talk in Bucharest on Monday.

They affirmed their support for the peace-promoting initiatives of the USSR, especially the unilaterally-declared moratorium on nuclear-weapons tests. It is necessary to drive back the danger of war through the joint activity of all reasonable and realistic forces. The proposal to create a chemical weapons-free zone in Europe has great significance.

Horst Sindermann and Nicolae Giosan noted a dynamic development in bilateral relations. The present visit by the People's Chamber delegation will contribute to the deepening of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

Both sides paid tribute to the cooperation in the Warsaw Pact to protect socialist achievements.

BRIEFS

CROP HARVESTING RATES TO DATE -- Bucharest AGERPRES 19/9/1985 -- Work is in progress in Romania for gathering the crops in due time and without losses. Maize has been harvested from 18 percent of the cultivated areas so far, and from more than that in the counties of Mehedinti, Dolj, Olt, Iasi, Ialomita, Calarasi, Constanta, Ilfov [as received] agricultural sector. Likewise, the sunflower has been harvested from 94 per cent of the land, sugar beets - from 22 per cent, winter potatoes from 53 per cent, grapes from 15 per cent and soya beans from 12 per cent of the cultivated areas. Ploughing also continues for autumn sowing, which has already covered more than half of the planned areas. Likewise, six percent of the planned areas are already seeded. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0950 GMT 19 Sep 85 AU]

RESERVATIONS EXPRESSED ON FOREIGN EXCHANGE BILL

LD241501 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1333 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Sep (TANJUG) -- Almost all of the 49 articles of the draft law on credit arrangements with foreign countries were questioned following today's coordination in the Economic Relations With Foreign Countries Committee of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, at which the delegations of Slovenia and Croatia announced a great number of significant comments and amendments to the law's text. The coordination was conditional, because these two republics will state their specific suggestions following the sessions of their own assemblies, which are due soon. On the basis of a speech by Stipe Tojcin (Croatia) and Franci Gerbec (Slovenia) at today's session -- as well as at a preceding one, when the law on foreign exchange transactions was conditionally coordinated -- it seems that it is a question of proposals that imply the retention of some basic assumptions of the present foreign exchange system.

LC OFFICIALS DISCUSS ELECTORAL ACTIVITIES

LD232238 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1635 GMT 23 Sep 85

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Sep (TANJUG) -- The question of present practice, experience, and possible shortcomings in connection with the electoral procedure in the LC and other issues pertaining to current LCY activity in connection with LCY membership changes and reciprocal information on implementation of the LCY Central Committee stands and conclusions were discussed at the meeting of the executive secretaries of the presidiums of the republican central committees and provincial committees and the Yugoslav People's Army LC committee responsible for the development of the LC and cadre policy, which was chaired by Trpe Jakovlevski. The meeting was attended also by Hamdija member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Vojo Srzentic, chairman of the LCY Central Committee Presidium Commission for the Development of the LC and Cadre Policy.

During the exchange of information most attention was paid to the question of incipient electoral activities for LC organs and delegates to the impending congresses and conferences, respectively, of the republican and provincial LC organizations and the LCY. The discussion showed that in practical work so far in keeping a record of the candidates there are no major deviations in individual republics and provinces from the agreed criteria and the procedure governing electoral activity. The assessment was made that good preparations have been carried out and that these activities are in progress throughout the LCY. It was particularly stressed that electoral activity should not be reduced to a mere organizational and technical procedure: It should be permeated with an ideopolitical substance linked with the actual situation in the LCY and in our society, and with the activity of LC members and cadres in LC organs in the battle to overcome the problems and difficulties and unity of action relative to the agreed policy. When keeping a record of the cadres for organs and leading posts one should proceed from an assessment of the present activity of any possible candidate, his proven abilities, and his orientation for socialist self-management. The need was also stressed to introduce new candidates without relying only on a group of well-known people who, for that very reason, may not be the most suitable people for election to the LC organs and to the leading senior posts in them.

It was noted in the discussion that electoral activity in the LC fails to adequately include the attitude that the LC should have regarding the cadre solutions for the organs of sociopolitical organizations.

Certain differences were manifested in the approach to the question of open and closed lists -- that is to say to the candidacy of one or of several candidates -- and it was pointed out here that the approach to be followed should be as uniform as possible. In this context it was stressed especially that the most essential thing is to ensure a fully democratic spirit within the entire electoral procedure, which will make it possible for candidate proposals to stem from a very extensive discussion in the LC, both during the stage when evidence of possible candidates is taken and during the further stages of proposing the candidates, up to the elections to appropriate organs. In so doing, the issue of one or several candidates will acquire its real dimension during the concluding election stage.

In the LCs of all the republics and provinces the criterion is strictly applied that when candidates are proposed, and later elected, a workers' majority must be secured. In some instances one proceeds from the stance that 50 percent or more members of LC organs must be elected from associated labor and direct production, and in some instances that the number of worker-members of the organs must be commensurate with the LC membership structure. As far as national membership is concerned, the need was pointed out of candidacy and election being carried out on the basis of the population structure in those areas where LC membership participation of a specific nationality is considerably below par regarding its share in overall population numbers. Some executive secretaries have spoken in favor of the same criterion as regards the participation of young people and women.

VRHOVEC DESCRIBES POLITICAL COMMISSION DOCUMENT

LD241854 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1438 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 24 Sep (TANJUG) -- Preparing a draft of a critical analysis of the functioning of the political system, we have reached the strong belief that the basic constitutional regulations should not be changed. No matter how conscious we are of having completed a large and useful task, members of the commission do not believe that in doing so they have done everything they could. On the contrary, the proposed text is open to further correction and amendment, Josip Vrhovec, chairman of the Federal Social Council Commission for the Preparation of the Final Document of the Functioning of the Political System, said at a press conference today. The reason for today's press conference, in which Tihomir Vlaskalic, Najdan Pasic, and Aleksandr Fira also took part, was the forthcoming session of the Council of the Federation, which will be convened on 30 September. It is said that the draft of the document prepared by the Federal Social Council Commission will be discussed then.

The commission formed by the Federal Social Council consists of a delegate for each republic and province and the constitutionally established institutions of the federation. Our obligation and power was, Vrhovec said, to synthesize the Social Council decisions and the numerous proposals and suggestions into a draft document that could be the basis for further solutions. We worked on the basis of unanimity. I stress this because, Vrhovec said, judging by some articles in the press, it is not understood, or there is no wish to understand, why the commission was formed and what its task was. The essential characteristic of the draft of a critical analysis is its link with the Long-Term Program of Economic Stabilization. Public discussion will show whether this link became sufficiently prominent in every concrete suggestion. There is no basis at all, however, for the demand to repeat what has already been said in the stabilization program. Vrhovec then spoke at length about the content of the document. The first third of the draft dwells on describing the situation and trends, and the rest is proposals and alterations.

In his opinion, there are four group deals with alterations and amendments to 27 articles of the constitution; the second refers to legal changes; the third group consists of proposals that require changing the performance of organized forces in the political system; and the last group are problems that still have to be studied before a decision can be reached on whether or not the existing solutions should be altered.

In assessing the situation we have been quite severe, but we have not yielded to the temptation to criticize everything. Our basic orientation has been directed toward criticizing certain tendencies that have in the past years steadily imposed themselves on social practice and led to the strengthening of etatistic tendencies just at the time when the system announced a turn in overcoming the etatism of previous phases and strengthening self-management and the power of the working class. The causes for this were explained in the stabilization program, while we have looked at them from the position of the political system. I find, he pointed out, the anti-etatist approach in this document very prominent. Considering that we are a multinational community, the class aspect is of primary importance, and it could pull forward -- of course, respecting the equality of all nations and nationalities.

The only unfinished part of the draft of the analysis is the one dealing with the performance of organized social forces, though Vrhovec said, this is "dispersed" throughout the document. We have not felt sufficiently competent to define concrete proposals, so that will have to be done by the LCY, SAWPY, and other political organizations.

In this document we have appraised the situation and relations in the SR of Serbia, considering that the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee has adopted attitudes on that, as one of the participants in work of the Social Council. We have not made any concrete proposals, because we expect them to be defined and then to build them in this analysis, to the extent they refer to the political system. Proposals and suggestions, which are already arriving, will be discussed at the next session of the Social Council. The procedure of the public discussion will be determined by the Socialist Alliance, while the proposed alterations will in any case be discussed in all sections of the system, from the basic organizations of associated labor, self-managing interest communities, and municipalities to the federation.

ZARKOVIC ON FIGHT AGAINST 'POLYCENTRIC ETATISM'

LD221655 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0802 GMT 22 Sep 85

[Text] Svetozarevo, 22 Sep (TANJUG) -- In the history of federalist thought in our country Svetozar Markovic is rightly considered the originator of a new idea, namely the theory of self-managing federalism. His thought and work are not only an inalienable part of our cultural heritage but also an inexhaustible source of encouragement to our social thought and revolutionary action, Vidoje Zarkovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said, greeting the participants in a scientific meeting entitled "National equality and federative system in the teachings of Svetozar Markovic and Yugoslav practice."

Opposing contemporary great-Serbian and other nationalist ideas -- used by bourgeois and bureaucratic ideologists to depict but not to unite our peoples -- Svetozar Markovic saw a federative system as the only framework for unification and true equality. After speaking about his work at length, Zarkovic pointed out that it is thus absurd to encounter defective attitudes and quasi-Marxist theories and to encounter even responsible communists carried away by some belated statehood and state-building in our country, after so perfectly pure Marxist attitudes were expressed a century ago.

I wish to stress, Zarkovic said, that the building of the Yugoslav federation and federalism in our country has followed the basic principles under which we must constantly seek solutions. Such solutions will, on the basis of socio-material conditions and presuppositions, ensure an ever-increasing degree of national freedom, independence, and equality, based on the class emancipation of labor and socialist self-management. The federation in Yugoslavia was born exclusively as a result of the wish and orientation of all Yugoslav nations and nationalities and their joint national liberation struggle and socialist revolution, headed by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, now the LCY. For this reason the practical functioning of such a federation and the realization of such a philosophical-theoretical concept of federation cannot put up with nationalist-leaderist contesting, jobbing, and blindness.

The basis of our federation is a working man, a self-manager, a free, creative personality that realizes its various interests and needs -- including the national interests through the numerous forms of the self-managing system of associated labor and its own sociopolitical communities. All these -- particularlyour socialist republics and autonomous provinces, as the institutional, state-democratic, and self-managing constituents of our federalism -- are just means and forms of the socialist development of our working man, and his freedom, power, and progress. This is, Zarkovic said, the deep humanitarian, working-class and democratic essence of our constitutional reform of 1974 and its importance for the continuity of our revolution.

It should have secured, Zarkovic recalled, the further de-etatization of relations in our society, and in this way encouraged the development of socialist self-management. Within this framework, the decentralization of the federal state should have ensured speedier progress in every aspect, primarily the development of the working class rule, a stronger unity of the country, and the consolidation of a true equality of our nations and nationalites. However, alongside all this, particularly in recent years, the opposite processes are increasingly manifesting themselves. The material power of associated labor is weakening, there is a stagnation in the development of self-management, and tendencies to enhance the attribute of statehood are manifested in the republics and provinces. In fact, Zarkovic said, our decentralization and de-etatization, which have been suppressing the federal centralism, progressed together with the growing presence of a chaotic etatism, which we call polycentric etatism. It has become a serious major challenge for us today.

According to Vidoje Zarkovic, polycentric etatism is the major cause of economic crisis, technological stagnation, and our financial dependence on foreign countries. It has also stipulated a social stratification with class characteristics, the resurgence of defeated ideologies, the weakening of the country's unity, and the paralysis of numerous mechanism political system.

In the past and current year we have witnessed serious problems concerning decision-making in the federation, particularly agreement-seeking between the republics and provinces. Many difficulties manifested in the process of coordination, for instance in the SFRY Assembly, have been not only the result of objective circumstances, but also largely the expression of the etatization of relations both in the republics and provinces and in the federation. It is unacceptable, Zarkovic stressed, to give instructions to delegations and often to delegates in the SFRY Assembly's chambers about how long they should discuss specific standpoints, and when and to what extent they should give in and hence,satisfy even the most trivial interests of their republic or province. All this resembles more the tactics of parliamentarianism than a true delegates' decisionmaking adequate to our self-managing system.

A number of phenomena and problems encountered in the development of our republics and provinces in recent years, particularly the phenomena in relations between them, point to the fact that all forces of organized socialist awareness must develop more determined initiative and action directed at the creative realization of constitutional propositions on the responsibility of the republics and provinces for their own development and that of the federation. It is not yet clear, he said, that these responsibilities represent an indivisible dialectic unity, because the sovereignty of the republics and provinces is implemented on an equal footing precisely through them.

These twofold responsibilities of our republics and provinces, which are largely based on the alienated social capital, could so far be realized only in a one-sided and uneven manner, at the same time leading both toward the isolationism of the republics and provinces and other sociopolitical communities within Yugoslavia and toward the isolationism of Yugoslavia as regards the world. Because of our great disatisfaction and the increasingly strong criticism of republic and provincial etatism, we feel an obligation, Zarkovic said, to carry out more resolute action aimed at the further self-managing transformation of the republics and provinces and at finding methods and forms of the realization of their responsibility for the development of the federation through a speedier, more effective, and more democratic material and social development. Criticism of republican and provincial and federal etatism does not represent criticism of the constititutional concept of these sociopolitical communities. On the contrary, it is the imperative for its realization. Yugoslav society and our socialist republics and provinces cannot survive without our self-managing federalism.

Every subsequent stagnation in the self-managing transformation of our republics, provinces, and the federation hampers, Zarkovic said, the self-managing integration of our multinational community, based on the unified interests of working class, and threatens the prosperity of our nations and nationalities and the integrity and security of our country.

This is also the standpoint taken throughout our country on relations of unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia, about which the LCY Central Committee Presidium recently adopted its own standpoints. The most important thing now, Zarkovic stressed, is to set about the concrete realization of these standpoints. In Serbia, as elsewhere in the country, we need more resolute steps towards further de-etatisation and the creation of political conditions and socioeconomic prerequisites for revolutionizing the processes of labor emancipation and decison-making by the workers as regards the whole of income, through a more developed system of freely-associated labor and struggle for a higher level of work and action unity among all subjective forces.

Associated labor as an integral system of our socioeconomic and democratic-political relations must acquire, Zarkovic said, its constiututionaly determined place in decision-making, in both the republics, provinces, and federation. This is the only way to defend, develop, and realize both the identity of the socialist republics and autonomous provinces and the identity and subjectivity of the federation as the independence and responsibility of its organs and to realize the joint interests of the working people, the working class, and our nations and nationalities. Enormous effort has been made in this direction recently. There can be no questioning, he added, the LC's leading role in the struggle against polycentric etatism.

However, there are still considerable differences in views on many issues, and this is so at all levels. To a great extent this affects our action and these differences must be overcome more resolutely. The discussion about the platform for the 13th congress and the critical analysis of the functioning of the political system is the basis upon which we can proceed in overcoming these problems.

In this connection I would like to stress that there are already many opinions and views being expressed, starting from those that aim for realistic and necessary practical solutions to those that would throw out the baby with the bathwater. Anyone who seriously and responsibly sets about this decisive work must understand that the basic strategic and pragmatic orientations of the LC and this society are not and cannot be the subject of any reexamination or restrictions. On the contrary, we are setting about a critical reexamination of the functioning of the political system precisely in order to further express, deepen, strengthen, and affirm these values and lasting fundamental orientations and to realize them more quickly, Vidoje Zarkovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said, among other things.

VOJVODINA ASSEMBLY ACCEPTS SERBIAN PLANNING BILL

AU241753 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Sep 85

[Excerpt] Delegates of all three chambers of the Vojvodina Assembly agreed today on the Draft Social Plan of Yugoslavia for the 1986-1990 period and without any remarks accepted the Bill of the Social Planning System and Social Plan of the SR of Serbia. The assembly also discussed the power situation and implementation of constitutionality and legality in the province. Let us hear Nikola Bulatovic.

The delegates of all three chambers of the Vojvodina Assembly assessed that the Draft Social Plan of Yugoslavia until 1990 can be a basis for establishing the development policy, but what is needed is its further amplification, elaboration, testing, and concretization of individual parts. Along with their acceptance, the delegates made several remarks about the document, among which one of the most important is that full realization of economic -- systemic changes is needed on the basis of the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program as a condition for successful fulfillment of the aims set. According to the assessment of the Vojvodina Assembly, the country's draft plan, prepared on the basis of the Bill on the Bases of the Social Planning System and Social Plan of Yugoslavia, presents an interim solution in planning. They also think that using the existing planning law and provisions from the Bill on the Bases of Planning. it was impossible to prepare the draft plan of the country on the basis of joint plans and programs of development. Since the [word indistinct] part of the plan should consist of establising the priorities of development policy in Yugoslavia, without that the discussion on the draft plan is incomplete.

The assembly accepted the Bill on the Social Planning System and Social Plan of the SR of Serbia without any remarks. That was, as was said, the result of joint work on the document.

VOJVODINA PRESIDENCY ASSESSES DEFENSE READINESS

LD192208 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1506 GMT 19 Sep 85

[Text] Novi Sad, 19 Sep (TANJUG) -- At its session today, which was presided over by Predrag Vladisavljevic, the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Vojvodina discussed the analysis of the implementation of the province's planned development in the area of all-people's defense at the present time and in the medium-term future. The presidency also examined the measures of the system's medium-term development and ways in which to secure necessary funds. The Presidency of the SAP of Vojvodina positively assessed the level achieved so far in the development of all-people's defense and supported the Vojvodina Executive Council's proposed measures for the further realization of the development plan and for the preparation of the next medium-term development plan.

As reported, the Vojvodina Presidency also discussed the proposed development plan of the province's territorial defense up to the year 2000. It also endorsed the proposed targets and directions of development and ways of financing it. On the basis of an analysis of the defense capacity and readiness in the area of transport and communications the Presidency of the SAP of Vojvodina stated that the province had made adequate provisions for the functioning of transport and communications in conditions of a possible threat of war, but that appropriate municipal, town, and provincial organs and organizations of associated labor had to step up their activity in order to enhance their defense readiness level.

PRISTINA COMMUNE EVALUATES EMIGRATION STATISTICS

AU201635 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 19 Sep 85

[Text] During the first 7 months of the current year, 335 Serbs and Montengrins emigrated from Pristina commune. Compared with the same period of the previous year, this is a drop of 45.7 percent. During the same period, 121 people returned and 52 requests for return are being processed. This was stated at today's meeting of the Pristina Commune Executive Council.

Considering that over 7,000 people have emigrated from this commune since 1981, these results in the percentage of returnees cannot be satisfactory. This is particularly so when considering the large number of people with higher education who have left the province. The departure of every cadre has a negative influence on society, because it influences others to make the same decision. One frequent explanation given by those who leave the commune pertains to employment. Others declare that they wish to join their families outside the province.

Although the number of intranational conflicts has also dropped considerably, there have been cases of rape attempts and of sowing national hatred during this period. There has been a total of 24 acts of damage to crops during this period. Half of the cases concerned members of the Serb and Montenegrin nationality. In addition, 143 hostile slogans have been daubed and 78 pamphlets with hostile contents have been distributed.

Serb and Montenegrin nationalism also left its mark, mostly in the form of the identification of the Albanian nationality with Albanian nationalism and irredentism and through the propaganda line that there are no prospects in Kosovo.

Since the previous year, 90 contracts have been concluded pertaining to the sale of land by Serbs and Montenegrins to Albanians. The meeting was also informed of the fact that 29 out of a total of 174 Pristina commune collectives recorded losses totalling 25 million dizars.

PLANINC, SHIPBUILDERS DISCUSS INDUSTRY, EXPORTS

AU202044 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Sep 85

[Gordana Buncic and Jasmina Bojic report; recorded passages from statements by Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council (FEC), in quotation marks]

[Text] The shortage of financial resources is the biggest problem of the shipbuilding industry. The question of how the construction of ships for domestic and foreign markets can be increased under these conditions was the topic of the talks between Milka Planinc, FEC president, and directors of the largest shipyards, producers of equipment, and exporters of ships.

The occasion for these talks was the launching of the first ship of a series of 20 ships that the Tito shipyard is building for the Moscow enterprise for imports of ships. Borisav Srebic, Brasislav Ikonic, Mustafa Pljakic, Radoje Stefanovic, and others participated in the talks with shipbuilders, in addition to Milka Planinc. Gordana Buncic and Jasmina Bojic report:

According to the information presented in the talks by Vladimir Martinovic, president of the Dunavbrod business association, the state of our river shipping fleet is a cause for concern. Half of the 1,450 ships operating in the internal shipping routes are older than 25 years, which, according to our regulations, means that they should be taken out of shipping operations. According to Martinovic, 50 new ships should be built every year in the period up to the year 2,000 in order to bring the river fleet to a normal state. Ivo Vrandisic, president of the Jabranbrod organization, spoke on the problem of financing of the construction and sales of seagoing ships. Japan and Korea are the world's biggest suppliers of these ships and Yugoslavia's share of this market only amounts to 2 percent. To at least move closer to the biggest competitors, we need a much better financial and business organization.

Participating in the talks, Milka Planinc said that the system-related solutions regulate the conditions but do not provide the funds needed by the shipbuilding industry. For this reason she proposed:

"Now, in connection with the new law on banking systems, could we not think about forming a consortium of banks? It is not always possible to interest each and every bank in Yugoslavia, but quite a few large banks in Yugoslavia could have a lasting economic interest in this respect and could thus find some form of organization for this purpose."

Borisav Srebric, FEC vice president, believes that it would be possible to increase Yugoslavia's domestic fleet on the basis of a unified program of the country's producers and transportation organizations. It would be possible to seek international credits on the basis of such a unified program.

At the conclusion of talks with directors of our shipyards, the producers of equipment, and the exporters of ships, Milka Planinc, FEC president, said the following about our activities in foreign markets:

"I must say that Ivo Vrandisic is right when he says that it is necessary to synchronize the visits of delegations abroad, and I must say that since I already have had to [words indistinct], I find myself in an uncomfortable position when I carry with me the formula of such statements as 'We want to cooperate with everyone,' but nothing practical or concrete is requested. What is this worth in relation to those countries that are in trouble -- and trouble that is greater than ours? They do not have dollar funds and they do not have any concrete proposals, that is, what we call [word indistinct] constructions, but there are certain products in relation to which combinations could be made. We must help these countries in a way that also promotes our own development, but if we do not find a formula for them according to which they would be able to produce, export, and pay, then it would be difficult for us (?to offer them anything). [Words indistinct] seek the credits for others from international institutions. All this is possible if [word indistinct] people are found who have in mind a concrete country and a concrete product on the basis of which arrangements can be made. That would be hardly possible on the basis of some general formulas."

Following the talks at the Dunavbrod organization, Milka Planinc, FEC president, christened in the Tito shipyard a new ship for transporting vegetables, grain, timber, and containers, of the series of 20 ships that this collective is building for the Soviet Union.

"Thank you for honoring me by letting me christen this ship. I name the ship Belgrade. [applause] Let it bear proudly and honorably the name of the city of all us Yugoslavs, the name of Tito's city. [applause] Let it bear it proudly to the distant waters of the friendly USSR with awareness that it bears the name of the city that only in the SFRY has had the experience of living in peace for so many years, that is, the name of the city which knows what the struggle for freedom is, knows how to fight for freedom, and above all knows how to value peace. Let the name Belgrade carry this message to waters of the friendly country of the USSR. [applause] Happy voyage to the ship and its crew. [applause]"

SREBRIC LEAVES ON WORKING VISIT TO USSR 23 SEP

LD231446 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Sep 85

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Sep (TANJUG) -- Borisav Srebric, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, left today on a working visit to the USSR at the invitation of Ivan V. Arkhipov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. During the visit the two chairmen of the intergovernmental committee for economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the SFRY and the USSR will examine the implementation of economic cooperation in 1985. Srebric is expected to have meetings with other high-ranking Soviet officials.

SWAPO'S NUJOMA MEETS SAWPY'S UZELAC IN BELGRADE

LD242032 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1917 GMT 24 Sep 85

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, September 24 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia and the liberation movement of Namibia (SWAPO) today sharply condemned the latest invasion of South African troops in Angola and other destabilizing acts of the racist regime in Pretoria against independent neighbouring countries. The condemnation was set out in talks here today between Milan Uzelac, secretary of the general conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, and president of the South West Africa People's Organization Sam Nujoma on a visit to Yugoslavia since yesterday.

Sam Nujoma laid special emphasis on the significance of actions taken so far and to be taken in the future by the Nonaligned Movement and the U.N. toward stepping up the decolonization of Namibia.

Milan Uzelac pointed out that Yugoslavia is ready to continue and intensify its political, diplomatic, moral, and material support to the people of Namibia and SWAPO as its only authentic representative.

NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES' MINORITY POLICIES VIEWED

AU231450 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 22 Sep 85

[Dragan Petrovic feature from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Excerpts] Over time and within the framework of historic events that the Balkans and Europe have gone through, especially in this century, national minorities have become an especially sensitive instrument for measuring the state of political relations.

Minorities have developed into such a sensitive issue that it can make a timely prediction of changes and storms, but also presages calming and better times.

The rich experience in this field knows many illusions and fallacies, faults, and mistakes. One of the morals here tells us that this question cannot be taken out of the context of overall bilateral relations. In such cases what is lacking in the right atmosphere for taking up this frequently delicate question, and therefore a one-sided insistence incites tension and distrust. On the other hand, when cooperation is developed in numerous fields, there are conditions to remove taboos and to talk reasonably about the question. Then one can find the right words and suitable balance between strictly observing the principle of noninterference in other countries' internal affairs and the right of the mother nation to be interested in the human and national position of its fellow nations across the border.

Let us hear now how members of the groups of Yugoslav peoples are being treated in Hungary. Here is a report to Milos Corovic, TANJUG correspondent, from Budapest.

[Begin Corovic recording] A concern for nationalities -- for their general spiritual and cultural development and preserving traditions and customs and national identity -- is noticeable here, particularly during recent years, although this concern -- that is, the invested efforts -- are not in the right proportion to the effect achieved.

It is a long way from the right to free development that are guaranteed to national minorities by a positive legislature to their realization in life, and Hungarian authorities realize that and undertake various measures with a view to removing the weaknesses observed. [end recording]

It is probable that the positive resolution in treating the minorities problem in Hungary is affected by the fact that Budapest is not satisfied with the position of the Hungarian minority concentrated mostly in Romanian parts of Transylvania. Romania gladly stressed that it has solved the minority problem on a scientific-historical basis. It was said at the latest RCP congress, among other things, that the national question in Romania had been solved on the bases of Marxism and Leninism and the principles of scientific socialism. As is claimed in Romania, this further implies the full equality of all citizens, who, irrespective of their national affiliation and language, are all sons of the same homeland.

In forming a unified homgeneous socialist nation Bulgaria, though, went farthest, both in theory and practice. TANJUG correspondent Sava Mijalkovic reports from Sofia:

[Begin Mijalkovic recording] A change of identity cards is being brought to an end in Bulgaria. As in the change carried out 10 years ago, in these identity cards the entry of nationality has been left out. Into the entry of national affiliation one can write only Bulgarian. The issuance of new identity cards will be carried out by 4 December, when the fifth postwar national census will be carried out in Bulgaria. This census should once again prove official Sofia's hypothesis on the monolithic nature of the Bulgarian nation and on the fact, which has been very frequently stressed lately, that no part of the Bulgarian people belongs to another nation.

The history of postwar censuses shows clear political trends with the obvious purpose of ifficially forming here a compact Bulgarian nation. In the first postwar census in 1946, there were 250,000 Macedonians, and already in the next one, 1956, their number was reduced to about 180,000. The census from 1965 shows the number of Macedonians to be symbolic -- only 7,800.

The entry on nationality was already omitted in the 1975 census, and as national affiliation one could write only Bulgarian.

The Macedonian national minority in Bulgaria has been denied all rights that had been recognized to it in the first years after World War II. This is that dominant open question in Yugoslav-Bulgarian bilateral relations. The Yugoslav side has an uncountable number of times presented to the Bulgarian state and party leadership the unchangeable view that returning to the Macedonian minority in the People's Republic of Bulgaria the rights that had been allowed it before is a constituent and positive element of good-neighborly relations.

Many Bulgarian historians have recently openly and harshly accused the socialist Yugoslavia that it, I quote, carried out f forced assimilation of the Bulgarian population in Macedonia, and that in that tore away Bulgarian land and Bulgarian names have been replaced by names of the non existenct Macedonian nation with a view to giving them an anti-Bulgarian characteristic.

On the occasion of her visit last year to the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, said that overcoming the policy of negating the Macedonian people's identity and their history, culture, and national liberation struggle, as well as their statehood within the framework of the SR of Macedonia within the SFRY, would be especially welcomed by Yugoslavia. This would also be in the spirit of Helsinki. By persistently denying that members of other peoples -- Turks, Macedonians, Armenians, Greeks, Romanians, Romanies, and others -- also live in Bulgaria, Sofia official circles want to forestall the initiation of any kind of intervention concerning the position of national minorities on the basis of the Helsinki documents, which Bulgaria has also signed. [end recording]

Denationalization by means of changing personal names is unfortunately not only a Bulgarian specialty. As early as 20 years ago, in Albania, too, a law was adopted that binds all citizens -- including, naturally, members of the national minorities, who otherwise enjoy equality in Albania -- to give their children contemporary but only Illyrian names. Then 10 years later, the names of populated places where the Macedonians live were also changed to new Albanian names. Although the Albanian Constitution quarantees the protection of national minorities and the development of their culture and national traditions, as well as the use of their mother tongue and their own instruction in schools, this constitutional provision is mainly bypassed in practice. For instance, no postwar population census has provided any columns for possible registration of members of any other nationalities except the Albanian and Greek nationalities.

As regards the parts of the Yugoslav peoples -- Macedonians, Serbs, and Montenegrins -- who have lived in Albania for centuries, Albania formally and very partially recognizes only the Macedonian nationality, whereas other nationalities simply do not exist as far as Albania is concerned. Well, here we come to the reciprocity that is often mentioned in connection with bilateral relations: At the same time as it treats the Yugoslav minorities in its own territory in this way, Albania is allegedly very concerned about the fate of the Albanian people in Yugoslavia and, surpassing its legitimate interests in multiple ways, it interferes in our country's internal affairs. As far as that fate in which Albania is allegedly very interested, is concerned, the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia is building this fate, among other things on the basis of such things as the fact that until recently the first person of the LCY Central Committee was an Albanian, that at present an Albanian is president of Yugoslavia's highest representative body, and that next year an Albanian will also represent Yugoslavia in the world. It would never occur to us to impose our solutions on others, but we are forced to recall that last fall the Albanian side broke off the negotiations on cultural cooperation, because it does not want to even recognize members of the Yugoslav peoples in its own territory

Within this review of the position of our peoples in the neighboring countries, let us hear how Greece views these problems. Zlatko Blajer, NOVA MAKEDONIJA correspondent, reports from Athens:

[Begin Blajer recording] Officially there are no minorities in Greece. As far as the authorities are concerned, all residents of Greece, with the exception of foreigners, are Greeks: The Turkish, Albanian, and Macedonian national minorities do not exist. This is how it has been under all governments and regimes since the civil war, and this is how it is officially today. However, there have been some changes: Since the assumption of power by the socialists 4 years ago, the Macedonians in northern Greece are able for the first time in 3 and 1/2 decades to speak their own language in the street, cultivate their own customs, and sing their songs without facing punishment. To be true, this change has never been officially confirmed in any way whatsoever, but it is an indisputable fact. Another question is whether this change is enough in itself.

Proceeding from its constitutional duty to care for the minorities of its peoples in neighboring countries, respecting a number of general international documents, and consistently implementing the policy of nondiscrimination against any people, any nationality, any minority, or any ethnic group within its borders and outside, Yugoslavia has constantly called attention to the fact in its relations with Greece that nonrecognition of the existence of and the failure to grant the basic national rights to the Macedonians in Greece realistically limits the desired rhythm of the development of relations between the two states and their inhabitants. It is not only a question of political and principled attitudes, but also a question of consequences of this situation in everyday life. For instance, one of the main reasons for Greece's unwillingness to abolish visas with Yugoslavia is its refusal to permit entry to those Macedonians who fled or were expelled from that country in which they had lived for centuries during and after the civil war, and to refuse entry even to their descendants. Thus, the Greek authorities divide the citizens of another country on a purely national basis into two categories, that is, those who can obtain entry visas and those who cannot.

This discrimination certainly dows not favor a further strengthening of mutual trust that represents the basis for any sincere and firm friendship. Today Yugoslavia and Greece probably have greater reasons, readiness, and grounds for intensifying their good-neighborly relations than in many past periods. It is believed that the widening and deepening process of democratization of the Greece society, which began as a result of the assumption of power by Premier Papandreou's socialist party will also gradually eliminate the obstacles that have so far partly restricted the full scope of Yugoslav-Greek cooperation. The Balkans have been paying tribute to its quarrels and divisions for far too long to be able to allow itself, in the contemporary insecure world, the existence of any gaps, including those of a national character. [end recording]

CROATIAN ORGANS CRITIQUE PROPAGANDA WORK, BORBA

LD242207 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1548 GMT 24 Sep 85

["Full support given to 'BORBA'" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Zagreb, 24 Sep (TANJUG) -- Informative and propaganda activities in the preparation for the 13th LCY Congress and the 10th LC of Croatia Congress, as well as the overall political work in this period, must encompass as much as possible the real problems of life in society -- of the working man and citizen. At the same time, these articles should express the LC's overall efforts and shed light on the main social problems and approaching tasks, pointing toward possible solutions and answers to topical events.

Today at a joint session of the Croatia LC Central Committee Commission for Information and Propaganda and the Section for Information of the Croatia SAWP Republican conference it was pointed out that all editorial staff are expected to prepare their information and propaganda activity programs. They are, among other things, to contain questions on the further development of socialist self-management; the realization of the leading role, strengthening of the ideological and actional unity of the LC; the results of socioeconomic stabilization achieved thus far; the development of basic characteristics and values of the Yugoslav society.

In a discussion on some questions about the editorial policy and realization of the role of BORBA, it was judged that despite its low circulation of 50,000 issues per day, BORBA presents a respectable and influential organ. In addition to its numerous analytical and critically intoned articles, good feuilletons, and coverage of the political scene, BORBA should carry more authentic, active information about everyday social and political events.

This should be even more so, since BORBA covers the entire territory of Yugoslavia and should therefore become a paper that expresses the overall courses and interests of Yugoslave socialist self-managing society. Such a role for BORBA demands further efforts toward improving the paper's material position, strengthening the cadre, and a more thoughtful editorial policy. Information should therefore be a reflection of real and objective facts: all sections of political life should be equally represented according to the republics and provinces -- otherwise a random approach becomes prominent and cases that are not deserving become "inflated."

It was judged that BORBA should primarily be -- and this is what the readers demand -- an active participant and interpreter of official attitudes, a public, socialist, and democratic platform -- in brief, it should attempt to paint life in the richness of its events.

Following a very extensive discussion, members of both groups gave full support to further material developments of both editions of BORBA, Latin and Cyrillic: stressed the conscientious work of the paper's council for the SR of Croatia; and concluded that members of the paper's council should make a statement on excessive writings in the paper, as in the cases of Sisak, Knin and Bratiskovci.

SKOPJE RADIO LC EXPELS SUSPECTED CRIMINAL

AU201430 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Sep 85 p 6

[Text] Sokpje, 17 Sep (TANJUG) -- At its meeting today the LC basic organization of the Skopje Radio first program unanimously decided to expel from the LC Jovan Koteski, who has come into conflict with the LC ideological-political platform and statutory provisions, and with the basic values of our socialist self-managing society because of his hostile concepts and activities.

As has bewn announced and is known to the public, it is justifiably suspected that Koteski is a member of a six-member group that has committed the criminal act of association for the purpose of hostile activities and that, for hostile motives, he supported the group's activities aimed at setting up and activating explosive devices. For this reason the investigating judge of the Skopje District Court decided to initiate investigations against Koteski and other members of the group and ordered the measure of their detention.